The Forum

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BISMARCK: THE STRONGEST PERSONALITY SINCE NAPOLEON.

THE Thirty Years' War left Germany a desert, its people half-savage. The land had lost all save religion. The peasantry had much ado for a generation to feed itself; there was no time to think of education or liberty, for the tillers of the soil were in every practical sense serfs. The city-dwellers were less crushed; but the rulers had gone into the struggle as autocrats, and autocrats they remained. At the same period there had arisen in our New England several small colonies of men hardy enough to thrive in a fierce climate and on sterile soil; courageous enough to give up all they held dear and to face the savage and starvation for what they deemed their liberties; intelligent enough to found a university within ten years of their landing. It is scarcely to be wondered at that for eight generations the American has possessed political and personal liberty which the German has not yet won; nor, indeed, is it at all strange that it is so hard for us to take his point of view.

The Hohenzollern who was the petty ruler of Brandenburg and of the Polish fief of Prussia during the fearful war in which Gustavus Adolphus laid the corner-stone of the equality of creeds in the economy of nations, was not a fair representative of the race. But his grandson, the Great Elector, was a man and ruler worthy of the crown which Frederick I. placed on his own head in 1701, and an ancestor from whose loins such a hero as Frederick the Only might rightfully descend. If Frederick II. was the Last of the Kings, truly Bismarck has been his prophet. That Prussia belonged to him by divine right

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to make or to mar as he saw fit was the *motif* of all that great monarch's acts; but despite the drain of his terrible wars, Frederick did not mar, he made Prussia; and what he did in the eighteenth, Bismarck has carried forward in the nineteenth century; and has put the keystone in the splendid arch by creating a Germany one and indivisible.

Otto Edouard Leopold von Bismarck was born April 1, 1815, just before the battle of Waterloo, at Schönhausen in the Alte Mark, of a family of country nobility which had always numbered plenty of soldiers, many of whom, indeed, had died on the field of battle. His education was got at one of the gymnasia in Berlin and at the University of Göttingen; but though we hear little of his devotion to his studies and much of his wild ways, his naturally alert mind managed by infiltration to grasp the foundation of a very thorough knowledge. He was a furious fellow, big and burly, good-natured and reckless, quick in speech and ready to follow up a word by a challenge. A mighty man with the *Schläger*, he had some thirty duels to his score, in each of which he came off the victor. Having, like all the other German college men, served his year, he undertook the management of his father's Pomeranian estate. Extremely fond of a country life, he went into his work with zeal, but he coupled his economic activity with so much of what we should call "horse-play," that he earned the soubriquet *der tolle Bismarck*, and frightened out of all propriety the good folk of the region, and especially their sisters and their cousins and their aunts. He could drink almost any one under the table; he galloped about the country on the wildest hunts and larks, and was generally surrounded by a company of boon companions of the kind who played practical jokes. But for all this exuberance of spirits he neglected not his work; and finally, having with difficulty won the hand of Johanna von Puttkammer, the daughter of a pious house, he married in 1847 and settled down. Up to her death, in 1894, his wife, a rare helpmate of the true Teutonic sort, and a lady of culture and executive ability, made a home for Bismarck to which he never failed to return with a glad heart. The tone of the Prussian nobility forty years ago was pious almost to Puritanism, though they possessed not the "tyranny of the Puritan Sabbath." Bismarck had indulged in free-thinking, but after his marriage he joined the church, and though by no means a consistent attendant, was wont to go to communion twice a year; and he was a thorough stickler for religion among the people and in the state.

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A deo rex, a rege lex was the motto of the Hohenzollerns, only modified in our day. To us Americans this is a doctrine absurd enough, but once accept it and the Hohenzollern scheme was well carried out. With all his tyranny, no monarch ever slaved for his people more earnestly than grim old Frederick; and it would not be far from true that a kindly despotism is the best government—if one could but insure the adjective. The writer lived in Berlin in the 'fifties, and became familiar with what Prussia was before she grew to her present bulk; and he has never seen any class in any community more earnest, more high-toned, more patriotic, more self-sacrificing, than the Prussian nobility. "For God, King and Fatherland!" was a cry which came not from perfunctory lips, but from the heart of hearts of the upper classes; and, not to underrate the middle classes of to-day in Prussia, up to the nineteenth century the brain and brawn of the land was in its titled land-owners. The peasant was in the bonds of a feudalism extinct by law, but alive by custom.

The successors of Frederick the Great were incapable, and his glorious structure rusted out. At Jena, Prussia bit the dust; in 1813 her people threw off the Napoleonic yoke, and at one stroke freed their country and themselves; but they gained no semblance of representation until, in 1847, Frederick William IV. created a species of skeleton parliament. Representing his district in this body, Bismarck was, from the start, strongly against permitting the King's concessions to go too far. "I am no enemy of the constitutional system," said he later; "on the contrary I deem it to be the only possible form of government; but had I believed that a dictatorship—absolutism—in Prussia would have speeded the unification of Germany, I should assuredly have advised absolutism." The spirit of the Prussian nation is essentially monarchical; the king not only reigns but governs, and Bismarck held that the constitution must be construed to leave to the monarch all power of which he had not specifically divested himself; nor would he ever allow that a majority vote in parliament—which was but a majority of a majority—represented the people. Bismark was *plus royaliste que le roi;* but curiously it was on the ancient republican soil of Venice, where both happened to be in 1847, that he first attracted the personal notice of the king, who rejoiced to find a man who still held intact the old-fashioned ideas of the Hohenzollerns. There is no need to recapitulate the revolution of 1848, with its barricades and Commune furies in Berlin; but the end of it all was that the king granted a constitution to his people, and the

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first parliament was summoned for February, 1849. The king now put to use Bismarck's rugged fealty and stanchness, and he earned, even so early as this time, the ill-will of the progressists. No man was ever more cut out to invite antipathy. "I have been hated by each party in turn," quoth Bismarck. But the love of united Germany was an ample compensation.

The aspirations for unity in Germany dated back to the revolution of 1830, but it was not until 1848 that the first National Assembly met at Frankfort-on-the-Main, where it devised a constitution and offered the King of Prussia the crown of a German empire. This was refused on the score that the offer emanated only from the people and not the princes; but the German sentiment was aroused, and Saxony, Hanover, and Prussia soon joined in an effort to secure a lasting alliance. In 1850 another attempt was made at Erfurt by the princes, but this too lapsed; the governing and the governed could not amalgamate. The only residuum of both assemblies was to show that Austria and Prussia were striving for the leadership of a to-be-united Germany; and this outwardly amiable but inwardly burning strife ended at Olmütz in November, 1850, by the complete triumph of Austria and the humiliation of Prussia. As a part of all this Bismarck had earned a reputation for unswerving loyalty to the crown. One of his strong points—not often coupled to so much obstinacy of purpose—was his willingness to bow to the expedient; and bitter a dose as Olmütz was, Bismarck approved it, for the time was not yet come to measure strength with Austria.

Bismarck's next duty was as a representative of Prussia in the Diet of Frankfort, which met in 1851 as the mouthpiece of the forty-odd states of the Germanic Confederation; and it was here that he first became intimate with the Crown Prince, the later King and Emperor William. His reports to the home offices from the diet are photographic in their characterization of the men with whom he was concerned. His duties were to make Prussia prominent in the diet; but this was no easy task, for Austria had nearly all the minor powers under her thumb. The sole point on which Prussia and Austria agreed was in the cautiousness of their recognition of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* of December, 1851. Only in the matter of the Zollverein was Prussia able to hold head to Austria; and in Prussia's dispute with Switzerland in 1856 Austria dictated the settlement. Indeed Prussia had a tortuous path to tread between Russia on one side, Austria on the other, and France across the

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Rhine; and Prussia in those days was not the Prussia of the late 'sixties. The so-called great powers could not gauge her reserve power; though she so far stooped as to beg for a seat in the peace congress succeeding the Crimean War, it was barely accorded her; and many were the ill-turns she pocketed from Austria while piling up wrath against the day of wrath. "Who is Herr von Bismarck, this Landwehr lieutenant?" was asked at the diet. But he soon made his mark, and there is no better instance of the trenchant, if scarcely diplomatic, way Bismarck had of cutting the knot of a difficulty than his conversation with Baron Prokesch, the Austrian plenipotentiary and president of the diet, in the early days at Frankfort. The Austrians were much in the habit of bullying, and of assuming as a basis of negotiation things which were not facts. One evening, when at a large social gathering, Bismarck and Prokesch, surrounded by a brilliant group of diplomats, were discussing a protocol based on certain equivocations, Prokesch said, looking straight at Bismarck: "If that were not true, then I, in the name of my Imperial master, should have been guilty of lying!" Returning his gaze without a symptom of faltering, "Precisely so, Your Excellency!" slowly said Bismarck. The group, thunderstruck and embarrassed, scarcely knew which way to turn. Prokesch moved away; but later, at the supper-table, he came over to Bismarck with a glass of champagne and "Well, let us make peace!" "Assuredly," said Bismarck, "but the protocol must be altered." And it was.

In the Crimean war the policy of Prussia was dictated by a desire to keep on good terms with the czar, and meanwhile not to truckle to Austria. This was no simple work, but it was expedient if labyrinthic. "*Cette politique là va vous conduire à Jena,*" said the French ambassador at Berlin to Bismarck in 1855. "*Pourquoi pas à Leipzig ou à Waterloo?*" proudly replied Bismarck—and it did, to Sadowa and Sedan.

From Frankfort Bismarck went as ambassador to St. Petersburg in 1859, when the later King William was prince regent; and here he remained three years. It was at this time that occurred the Franco-Austrian war in Italy, and that Napoleon's aspirations to the left bank of the Rhine came to the surface. The French Emperor's "*L'Empire c'est la paix!*" was well twisted into "*L'Empire c'est l' épée!*" for his wars never ceased. In October, 1860, the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria met in Warsaw to discuss the European situation. Bismarck was present, and forcibly impressed himself by his

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clean-cut knowledge and purpose upon both his sovereign and the prime minister, Prince Anthony. His help was sought, and thereafter he was the chief counsellor of William I., who succeeded to the throne in January, 1861. In the ten succeeding years Bismarck made his master the most powerful sovereign of Europe.

William was a true soldier. The Prussian army, defensively mobilized in the Franco-Austrian War, had revealed grave defects, notwithstanding Napoleon declared to his army that its threatening attitude arrested his victorious march. To correct these shortcomings, William and his military advisers at once applied themselves, with what effect was shown at Sadowa. In 1862 Bismarck was recalled from St. Petersburg and sent to Paris, to spy out the nakedness of the land. His grasp of mind had already compassed the inevitable conflict with France for ownership of the Rhine, as it had already prophesied the struggle with Austria for supremacy in Germany. Though his residence in Paris had been useful, he was summoned back within a few months. The chamber had refused to vote the military budget; and to the surprise of everybody the king appointed Bismarck president of his ministry. William was one of those men with a genius for selecting servants. The conflict between parliament and king grew to be constant. Bismarck's schemes, already ripened and only awaiting time and place, could not succeed if proclaimed from the housetops; the country would not vote supplies for an army for which it could see no necessity. The foreign complications could be but partially enlarged on, nor the future policy of Prussia openly indicated, and Bismarck was heartily sick of the much parliamentary talking and loss of time. "Eloquent people remind one of women with pretty feet, who wear boots too tight for them and thrust them out to be admired." "Debate should only serve to orient people." "The wildness of the declamation makes me think of the Neapolitan command which used to follow the Charge Bayonet!—*Faccia feroce!* (Make a ferocious face)—Forward! March!" "Not by speeches and majority votes can the great questions of the day be settled," said he, "this was the error of '48 and '49—but by iron and blood!" For four years this conflict went on; and what the government could not get by votes, it took. The trio of men who made the German empire—Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon—well understood each other; their master reposed full confidence in them, and so matters went on.

In the Polish insurrection Prussia stood by the czar, and the purpose of England, France and Austria to intervene proved im-

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potent. Europe learned that Bismarck had nothing akin to fear in his foreign policy. With Russia as a friend, he could now speak out more plainly to Austria; the time for truckling had passed; Vienna was given to understand that she could no longer lead in Germany. In 1863 came up the interminable Schleswig-Holstein question, the details of which are as complicated as, and far less useful than, Bradshaw. The Danes, in short, on the accession of Christian IX., had attempted to incorporate with their kingdom the duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, a thing they were bound by treaty not to do; the German diet protested, and Austria and Prussia joined to enforce the protest. Again the Prussian parliament refused to grant a *groschen* for war; and again William and his ministers took what they needed. "If we find it necessary to go to war, we shall do so with your approval or without!" boldly said Bismarck. The man stood alone; no one could see the true policy of Prussia. So well-hated a premier has not calmly pursued his way during the century. He complained that the bitterest insults were heaped on him under the protection of so-called debate. "I found on the average that the same insults to the prime minister which would condemn a master-mechanic to a heavy fine and perhaps imprisonment if spoken of his fellow, were expurged, if uttered in parliament, by a fine of ten thaler." "For ten pitiful thaler, any one had a right to heap insults on me."

Go to war Prussia did. She mobilized, and swept the Danes out of Schleswig. Despite storms of protest from within and without, to which Bismarck turned an adder's ear, Prussia, backed by Austria, forced the fighting. England tried cajolery, then menaces; but Bismarck knew the temper of Russia and of France, and cared not a straw. At Düppel the backbone of the war was broken; Denmark succumbed and Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg were turned over to Austria and Prussia to deal with "as they should agree." In this simple phrase lay a fruitful source of future complication. Finally, at Gastein, it was agreed that Austria should retain Holstein; Prussia Schleswig; and William bought the emperor's half of Lauenburg.

This modest war—a pigmy in hard fighting compared to Grant's coincident Wilderness campaign—was just what Prussia needed to complete her already perfect army organization, and William, aided by Roon and Moltke, was not slow to repair every gap which the mobilization, the manœuvring, and the fighting of the Prussian divisions had shown to exist. But the honorable issue of the war by no

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means placated the parliament or the people, and the hatred of Bismarck was practically exemplified by the attempt to assassinate him in 1866.

The tension with Austria continued to increase, and the latter's antagonism in Holstein finally brought an intimation from Bismarck that "Prussia would resume her liberty of action and consult only her own interests"; to which unequivocal hint Austria responded by assembling troops on the frontier. This meant blood and iron. Prussia was ready, for Russia was friendly, and Italy, anti-Austrian to the core, was aiming to grab Venetia. In April, 1866, the fruit of Bismarck's consummate policy, a treaty offensive and defensive was signed between Italy and Prussia. Napoleon suggested a European congress; Bismarck made signs of agreement, knowing that Austria—as she did—would reject the proposal. All was ready, but King William was loath to draw the sword: Bismarck was put to it to invent a *casus belli* which he would act on, when Austria herself furnished it. She pretended to submit the Holstein question to the German diet, but meanwhile convoked the estates of Holstein to decide upon what it desired. This latter act ruptured the treaty of Gastein, and Austria's procedure then trenched on Prussia's condominate rights in Holstein. General Manteuffel was at once dispatched into that province and drove out the Austrians helter-skelter. War was in full swing.

It was now a question as to how the German princes would side; and on Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel returning evasive answers to Bismarck's demand for prompt declaration of their attitude, Prussia marched troops into their capitals within two days and summarily choked them off. This act, quite in the slashing style of old Frederick, was prompted by Bismarck. Italy and Prussia declared war at the same moment, and Bismarck, the premier, could now sit down to watch Moltke, the marshal, manœuvre his army-corps. This work, the most brilliant done since the beginning of the century, culminated in Sadowa.

Napoleon now threw himself into the scale for a cessation of hostilities; but Prussia would listen to no truce until Austria succumbed. Napoleon was playing for the Rhine frontier of 1814, and his minister, Benedetti, offered to let Prussia have her own way with Austria, as against this concession to France. Bismarck dawdled with Benedetti until terms were made with Austria, under which Prussia took Schleswig, Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Frank-

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fort, and then threw him over. He could afford to do this, for, after the crushing defeat of Austria, the south German states signed the long-discussed secret treaties by which they agreed to serve under the lead of Prussia in case of a national struggle: German unification had been begun, and it was with the whole race that France must reckon. Benedetti stormed, even threatened war, but Bismarck was immovable. This incident was a master-stroke.

Sadowa not only made Prussia the centre of German influence, but better still, it reconciled king and people, and new elections brought in a parliament with which Bismarck could work in unison. Never was a more splendid triumph than the day when William, preceded by Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon, moved down the *Unter den Linden* between rows of over two hundred captured Austrian guns.

In February, 1867, the North German Parliament opened in Berlin, with some three hundred members representing twenty-two states north of the Main, and in April a constitution was agreed on, and Bismarck was made Chancellor of the Confederation. The threatening attitude of France had speeded on the new work. Balked in his claim for the Rhine frontier, Napoleon now suggested that Prussia should wink at his seizing Belgium and Luxemburg. But he got neither—Bismarck's political acumen was more than equal to Napoleon's greediness. He did, however, finally agree to a conference of European powers on the subject, and this eventuated in preventing the grab-game of France.

The three years preceding 1870 were spent by Bismarck in consolidating the union of north and south Germany; by France in thwarting Bismarck. Unaware how close the bond already was, Napoleon pretended to more influence with the south German states than the chancellor, and how well Bismarck succeeded in his unification structure, in despite of Napoleon the Little, was proved in a very few days of 1870. In closing the fourth session of the Reichstag in May of that year, King William congratulated the country on having become substantially one. Bismarck was not the only man to foresee war with France: but the premier was waiting for north and south to shake hands in real earnest. It needed some cataclysm to bring this about; and midsummer of 1870 furnished the shock. Napoleon's worm-eaten dynasty was tottering; nothing but stirring events which should appeal to the Gallic love of glory could shore it up. A resort to war was the only means, and Prussia was the only opponent. How the military authorities of France could have be-

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lieved her army to be fit it is hard to see; but France is the land of surprises, and while, under his many splendid leaders, from Vercingetorix to Napoleon, the Gaul has always been unsurpassed as a soldier, in adversity or led by mediocre men he cannot rival the steadiness of the Teuton.

The absurd pretext that a Hohenzollern must not accept the throne of Spain was a weak enough *casus belli;* but to demand that the head of the Hohenzollerns should give pledges for the future—and especially Benedetti's insolence to King William at Ems—well showed that the Boulevardists of Paris had predetermined war. It is not uncommonly claimed that Bismarck led France into this step by insidious diplomatic practices. Were this so, as war was certain, wherein would Bismarck have been at fault in hurrying its advent? The fact is that Napoleon was bound to have war; Prussia was waiting and ready. So soon as a mobilization was ordered, Bismarck's labors were for the moment finished. The last war had crushed the arrogance of Austria; would this one crush the insane war fury of the Gaul? The answer came in a battle song: from Alps to Baltic feuds were forgot, every German flew to arms, and the "*Wacht am Rhein*" was chanted by millions of throats along the banks of that blood-stained river. Under Bismarck's leading, German hands and hearts were knit; the outcome of the war was assured.

No need to recapitulate the avalanche which swept over France during August, 1870. Bismarck followed his master; he had little to do but watch the stupendous drama, until on September 1, at Sedan, Napoleon surrendered his sword. Was ever such a triumph?

First to meet the crestfallen emperor was Bismarck; and of this meeting, which took place in a small room in a mean house in Donchéry, Bismarck afterward said that he felt as he used when, as a youth, he had invited some young lady to be his partner in the cotillon, had absolutely nothing to converse about, and no one would come up and take her out for a turn.

At a banquet next day the king drank to the health of his army: "You, General von Roon, have whetted Prussia's sword; you, General von Moltke, have wielded it; and you, Count von Bismarck, have made Prussia great by wisely directing her policy!" Almost greater than the military result was the triumph of Bismarck's long struggle for German unity. At last north and south saw the truth of United we Stand, Divided we Fall! and there arose an immediate and universal demand for union. The south came of her own free will and

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claimed that political kinship with the north which had been so long a dream. The harvest of Bismarck's prescient sowing had ripened. Though there still had to be some give and take in the settlements of detail, it was with the hearty consent of all that William became the first emperor of the new Germany. The King of Prussia was placed on the imperial throne by people and princes together.

Meanwhile the French republic succeeded the empire; and both Favre and Thiers unsuccessfully essayed to win a truce while German siege guns were being mounted around Paris. The siege went on, and finally came negotiations for peace. To these both Favre and Thiers were parties. The former Bismarck by no means gauged high; he esteemed Thiers at his true worth. But Bismarck was a hard man to deal with, and France could not readily acknowledge how low she had fallen. When negotiating with Thiers in Versailles—they talked in French, of which Bismarck is a master—at one of Bismarck's demands, Thiers sprang up with "*Mais, c'est une spoliation véritable, c'est une vileté!*" Bismarck showed no annoyance, but at once began talking German. "*Mais, Monsieur le Comte,*" said Thiers, after a moment, "*vous savez bien que je ne sais point l'allemand.*" Bismarck again resumed in French: "When you spoke of *vileté*, I saw that I did not know enough French, and I preferred to speak German, in which I know the value of the words I utter and hear." Thiers gave way and agreed to the clause in question. Finally terms were made: France ceded what she had vowed she never would part with, and paid the sum she had vowed she never could raise; the German army, on March 1, 1871, entered Paris, and the Franco-German war was over.

For handsomely standing by Prussia during 1870 Russia had earned her reward. This she now took by repudiating the treaty of 1856, under the *ægis* of Germany. Austria made up her mind to forget 1866; Beust yielded to the logic of events; and at a meeting in August, 1871, at Salzburg, William and Francis Joseph exchanged a Teutonic embrace. A year later the three emperors met in Berlin, and Bismarck thus began to see mature his plans for isolating France—for cutting short her fury for revenge. As the fruits of the two wars that he had foreseen to be necessary had proved all-sufficient, Bismarck was now a "fanatic for peace." Return visits were made to St. Petersburg and Vienna, and Victor Emmanuel came to Berlin. All central Europe, with Russia in the background—the *Drei-Kaiser-Bund*—stood arrayed against France, demanding peace.

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The attitude of Germany in the Russo-Turkish war had much to do with preventing a general European struggle, and when in the summer of 1879 the powers met in Berlin to deliberate upon the treaty of San Stephano, Bismarck was presiding officer. A wonderful change was this from 1856 when Prussia was barely admitted to a minor seat at Paris; and during the stormy sessions Bismarck, with all his patience and persuasiveness, had much ado to keep Russia or England from leaving the conference in anger. Gortchakoff could not have his way; Bismarck did have his, and the two were finally quits for more than one act of arrogance by the Russian diplomat in bygone days. Owing to this disappointment, the court of St. Petersburg, feeling that Bismarck had been somewhat less than friendly, fell away from the court of Berlin—and there arose danger of a Muscovite flirtation with France. Alarmed at this attitude, Bismarck hurried to Vienna. Austria was grateful for German support in her Eastern policy, and signed a defensive treaty against Russia in October, 1879, which was but reluctantly approved by the Russophile Emperor William. Thus again was created a guaranty of peace; and when, in 1885, Alexander III. succeeded his assassinated father, the war-maniacs of Russia were permanently shelved. Three years previous to this, Bismarck's dealings with Italy had borne fruit in the accession of that kingdom to the Triple Alliance; and this put it still further out of the power of France to think of war. One more power—Spain—remained to be placated in order to isolate France, and this neatly came about in the silly ebullition of Gallic jealousy when King Alphonso was made a Prussian colonel; in his being insulted in Paris as the '*Roi Uhlan*'; and in a visit of the Crown Prince of Prussia to Madrid. Again the Triple Alliance, the friendly attitude of Spain, and—despite an occasional misunderstanding—the kindly relations with the czar's government made Germany secure from a war of revenge; and all this was the work of the Iron Chancellor's skilful hand. It was he who had preserved the peace of Europe.

It must not be supposed that Bismarck's astonishing success in the Franco-German war relieved him from difficulties at home. The new imperial constitution was far from a perfect instrument. The Reichstag was a mere body for discussion. Initiative and veto remained with the Bundesrath, which represented the rulers, and the Bundesrath was overawed by Prussia—in other words by Bismarck. This meant eternal vigilance. Germans are not only factious but are

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never-ending debaters—"Show me two Germans and I will show you two opinions"—and such was the Reichstag. But this was not all. The antagonism between church and state grew apace. Alsace-Lorraine—the glacis of the Empire—was not easy to govern, until in 1880 these provinces were given a sort of autonomy, and conciliation became the maxim of the government. Considering their sudden acquisition, the five milliards received from France were spent with fair judiciousness, in rewarding the leading heroes, in creating a war-chest, and in building fortresses, strategic railways, and a fleet; but their disposition created many a heartburn. And a never-ceasing source of worry was the triennial army bill. Moltke had truly said that what Germany had won in half a year she would have to defend for half a century; but the interminable squabbles over the army were a load to weigh down any man, until the parliament finally agreed to surrender the military budget to the emperor for seven years; and this has since been repeated. The never-ceasing opposition of the clericals, the Kultur-Kampf, the railway imbroglio, the location of the federal supreme court at Leipzig, the attempts of Hödel and Nobiling to assassinate the emperor, and the difficulty in passing a repressive law, sadly pressed on the aging chancellor. In 1877, wearied by the eternal struggle, by ill health and vexation of spirit, Bismarck sent to the Emperor his petition for leave to resign. All Germany rose in protest to this act; and William returned the petition with "*Niemals!*" written on the margin. Bismarck might have unrestricted leave, but chancellor he must remain. Had Bismarck not discovered in this universal reliance on his ability and strength a means of forcing compliance to his will, he would have been more than human, and thereafter the threat to resign was at intervals covertly utilized—indeed, so often that it finally lost its potency.

It was in consequence of the wounding of the Emperor by Nobiling that the laws against the Socialists were finally passed, and these were remorselessly administered. To us Anglo-Saxons it is hard to say which was worse, anarchism or the tyranny employed in seeking to uproot it. The police resorted to the methods of mediævalism to suppress the Socialists. This gave trouble enough; but by far the gravest struggle Bismarck had to wage was the Kultur-Kampf—the war between church and state. In 1870, simultaneously with the declaration of war by France, was announced the papal dogma of Infallibility, and that, with the French leanings of the Holy See, there

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was some connection between these two events has always been thought probable. The dogma the German Catholic bishops, as in duty bound, accepted and sought to force upon their flocks, demanding, for instance, of the theological professors of Bonn its acceptance under pain of suspension. On the appeal of the professors, Bismarck assured them they could not be touched. A lay Catholic teacher in East Prussia was excommunicated for refusing to teach the dogma, and upheld in his place by the government. The Jesuits plotted in Alsace-Lorraine, and bred so much mischief everywhere, that even the Old Catholic party sided against them, and many demanded their expulsion from the land. Laws were passed against them. They were excluded from all priestly and scholastic functions, and most of them left Germany. Contumacious prelates were fined or mulcted of their pay; and Bismarck was now as roundly abused by the pope and the Catholics as he had ever been by the French. The clericals held doctrines highly dangerous to the government, and "Pope or Kaiser?" was the question of the day. Guelph and Ghibelline again strode through the land. Should a man be a German or a Catholic first?

In May, 1873, the Falk repressive laws were passed: the Catholics disregarded them; and their acts—christenings, marriages, funerals—were declared null and void; their records were seized; the archbishop of Posen was even imprisoned; and a later law deprived refractory priests of their civic rights and subjected them to banishment. Civil marriage was made obligatory. So heavy was the hand of the government that Bismarck, from being the best-hated man in Germany, became the best-hated man in Europe; and a further attempt to assassinate him occurred in July, 1874. The laws were pitilessly enforced, and the imperial mission was withdrawn from the Vatican. The Pope stormed; Bismarck acted: he would show who was ruler in Prussia. The incomes of recalcitrant prelates were impounded; all but Samaritan religious orders were expelled from Prussia; Catholic church property was vested in the congregations, subject to the control of the state; and the Old Catholics, heretics in the eyes of the Jesuits, were given usufruct of their churches and church funds. These were the "Bread Basket and Cloister Laws." So long as Pius IX. lived, there was no peace in Germany for any Catholic who did not obey the law—"*Pio Nono, Cui Bono?*"

When Leo XIII. became pope in 1878, a policy of conciliation was fostered by both sides, and in 1882 a Prussian minister was again accredited to the Vatican. Despite a certain measure of success Bis-

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marck had found that the Church of Rome was a mighty opponent, with whom to live in peace was easier than to be at war. From this time on the state, under the pressure of the clericals, gave way more and more, and the Holy See and the German government became reconciled—so much so indeed that the pope threw the entire weight of his influence in favor of the Septennate Bill. Bismarck who, with his policy of iron and blood, had defeated Danes, Austrians, French, had overridden law and gospel, had made Prussia a mighty nation, and had created the German Empire, found Rome a power quite beyond his strength. Thiers was wise enough to foresee this, and in reference to it once narrated to Count Arnim an anecdote of Waterloo. Near the end of that struggle of giants, some one approached Napoleon with "Sire, the English have lost a terrible number of men." "Yes," replied the great soldier, "but I have lost the battle." Two things Bismarck could not cope with: the deep-rooted persistence of all-pervading Rome, and the nameless secrecy of leprous anarchism.

In March, 1888, splendid old William was gathered to his fathers. That Bismarck was still the executive was well shown in his preventing, by a threat to resign, the marriage of the Princess Victoria to Alexander of Battenberg, ex-prince of Bulgaria, which union he deemed dangerous to the interests of Germany. The imperious habit had grown on the chancellor, but it worked with moribund Frederick. When in the same year William II. came to the throne, Bismarck was still at the height of his influence; and that the young monarch leaned heavily on the man of blood and iron, and had the utmost affection for him, is abundantly testified. Then came the unfortunate incident of the publication of the Crown Prince Frederick's Diary—which was twisted into an arraignment of Bismarck; the trial of Dr. Geffcken and the accusations against Sir Robert Morier and the English court, with its unfortunate implications. In all this imbroglio William stood at his chancellor's side. But Bismarck, now really Mayor of the Palace, weighed on the high-strung potentate's sense of Hohenzollern ownership. In March, 1889, there came another "chancellor crisis," now a common means resorted to by Bismarck to force his will on emperor or parliament, and this time William determined to take him at his word. The threat had been used once too often. The real reason lay in the purpose of the young emperor-king to have ministers responsible to himself directly and not through any chief, were he even a Bismarck. The chancellor had become *imperium in imperio*—an anachronism. The manner of his

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release from his duties was in the highest degree honorable, but to Bismarck it was after all but "a first-class funeral." He left Berlin in a species of triumph, sad as it was, and with the sympathy, respect, and admiration of universal Europe. But, after all said, the master was right; Bismarck was no longer a servant of the state. He dominated it.

There are many important things which for lack of space we must pass over in silence—such as the German colonial policy; the accident, sickness, old age and indigence assurance laws; the malodorous Arnim quarrel, which was the protest of a jealous small man against the power of a level-headed great man; and many interesting occurrences in Bismarck's public life. They were incident to his office, rather than part of his life's work. His restless retirement, his initial difficulty in grasping a true *otium cum dignitate*, his final reconcilement to the Emperor, and the ripening quiet of octogenarianism every one knows.

One of the common slurs against Bismarck in Prussia is that he is a *Junker*—that is, belongs to the class of country nobles who, after the old feudal fashion, fain would ride roughshod over the rights of the middle and lower classes. In so far as Bismarck is a lifelong believer in the divine right of the king his master, he is a *Junker*, and he comes of honest *Junker* blood; but his course throughout life evidences scrupulous regard for the rights he believes the people to possess; and that he is essentially a friend of the poor is shown in his ultra-socialistic efforts to create by law a fund to assure the laboring man against the distresses of old age. He is rather a disciple of militarism than a *Junker*. Accused of anti-Semitic tendencies, he disclaimed being a foe of the Jews, but acknowledged a belief that they should not hold high office in a Christian country.

Bismarck is too broad-minded to be always consistent. "I am not one of those who say they have nothing more to learn. If any one says to me that twenty years ago I was of his opinion, which he has not since changed, and that now I am no longer so, I reply to him: 'Yes, as wise as you are to-day I was twenty years ago; to-day I am wiser; I have learned in the twenty years.'" His idea of government is: "There are times when one should rule liberally, times when one should rule as dictator. Everything changes. Here is no eternity." On Thiers urging him to raise money in a fashion not warranted by Prussian law, Bismarck said: "*La patrie veut être servie, pas dominée*"; but he added, on Thiers speaking of a majority vote,

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"*La majorité n'est pas la patrie.*" "I have never belonged to a party since I became minister, neither liberal nor conservative. The king is my only associate, and my only effort is to defend the king's power and to strengthen the German Reich." This was indeed his one life's work, and his proudest title to fame is that he has increased the fatherland. But his precept and practice alike must be confessed to be dangerously akin to absolutism. As a despot his natural feeling for justice would have made him mild; still the *motif* of his character was undeniably autocratic. One of the best histories of Bismarck's career and growth in the affections of the German people is to be found in the pages of "Kladderadatsch," the Berlin comic weekly. From 1862 on, the drawings and poems reflect the man as seen from the familiar standpoint. Beginning with censure, the tone gradually changes to admiration after 1866, and unbounded enthusiasm after 1870. He is the one of all the Germans, not excepting the monarchs, who monopolized the weekly pages of this journal.

As a statesman, Bismarck has been essentially wise and far-seeing. His knowledge suited to diplomacy is vast and varied. He is an adept in French, he speaks English and Italian well, he understands Polish, and has acquired a good knowledge of Russian—which one day he exhibited, much to the astonishment of the czar. His wisdom in active measures is rarely at fault. To accomplish a greater end here he can give way there. To bring the south German states to a point where he could depend on them to act with Prussia so as to head off Napoleon from acquiring a frontier on the Rhine, he made easy terms with them; but how much more was gained than lost. He has never swerved from his ultimate objective, however much he might vary his course thither to suit the changing conditions. He gracefully recognized the moment to yield; he instantly seized the moment to strike; he has been apt at misleading his opponent and always ready to accept the responsibility of a decision; he has essentially a cool head and a warm heart. Busch calls him "Achilles and Ulysses in one." An arch enemy of all sham, of shuffling, of mere speechifying or posing, a man of deeds, unusually open and above-board, but able to conceal what was solely his own business, his horizon is extended, he takes the larger view of everything, and subordinates details to the main object. He has been a tremendous worker, never sparing himself when the state or the king needed his services. "There is so much *I must* in my life that I rarely reach *I will.*" Able in conference beyond most men, of a rugged force and grandeur and a will

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which imposed on all, he is yet not a fluent or powerful speaker, except that he deals in great ideas—some of his utterances are like the unfinished blocks of Michelangelo; but he is a capital *raconteur*.

Bismarck is fond of nature; no life would have suited him better than that of the plain country-baron. He likes and knows a good horse, he has been a never-tiring rider, and has always had about him some splendid specimens of dogs—such as Great Danes—and he was an exceptional shot and a lucky hunter. There is a story of a bear hunt in Russia, in which he and six other gentlemen joined. Three bears were shot, all, as it happened, by Bismarck, after each had been missed by several of the others. Of powerful frame, he has been expert in all athletics, and a stanch swimmer. His first decoration was given him by the king for saving the life of a drowning man under peculiarly bold circumstances.

Lacking time, he has not been a great reader; but his prime favorites are Shakespeare and Goethe. His wife was an able musician, and Bismarck is fond of music but he is not a performer. He rarely visits the theatre or opera, Teuton to the backbone though he is; his amusements have rather led him out of doors. He has been a hearty eater, loves good wine, and smoked continually until he suffered from its effects. In later years he has undergone much pain. Very slightly near-sighted, he yet can read and work without the aid of glasses. His hearing is extremely keen.

It is said that Bismarck is rather superstitious in a mild way. He put off the completion of the Bazaine negotiations one day because he would not sign them on the 14th of October, the anniversary of Hochkirch and Jena. He believes in the influence of the moon on the growth of vegetation. He is stated not to like thirteen at table, nor to undertake important things on Fridays—though he himself denies this. And he really believes that he had once seen a supernatural vision.

Bismarck is said to resemble in person his great-grandfather, Augustus Frederick von Bismarck, who, as a colonel of dragoons, fell in the Seven Years' War. He himself is colonel of the Yellow Cuirassiers.

The ancestral estate in the Alte Mark, Schönhausen, contains two thousand eight hundred *morgen*. In 1867 Bismarck purchased, with the gratuity of four hundred thousand marks voted him by Parliament, the estate of Varzin in Hinter Pommern, which con-

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tains thirty thousand *morgen*. In 1870 the emperor presented him with Friedrichsruh, near Hamburg, an estate of twenty-eight thousand *morgen*. All this made Bismarck a wealthy man according to the simple German notion; his estate is not large by the reckoning of our plethoric plutocracy.

Prince Bismarck is one of the monumental figures of the nineteenth century. It is scarcely too much to say that only Napoleon played a greater part. Except Frederick, he is the most noble individuality in the history of Prussia. Going back to 1861, when he first became the counsellor of the King, compare his accomplishment in Prussia with that of the other peoples of Europe. Russia has increased only in Asia; Austria has fallen from her high estate; Italy, through united, has come to the very verge of bankruptcy; Spain remains of no political value; France is rich and powerful, but has been shorn of territory and honor; England barely holds her own by her insular position, her wealth, and her colonies. Of all the countries, Germany is the only one which has markedly gained. Prussia, in 1861, was a power of questionable strength even within Teutonic territory; to-day she holds the hegemony of all Germany, far and away the most puissant of the powers of the earth; and it is solely to the strength, wisdom, patience, sagacity, and courage of Otto von Bismarck that this is due. Generations to come will point to him as the *Mehrer des Reichs*.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

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WHY CANADIANS DO NOT FAVOR ANNEXATION.

NOT long ago I received a letter from a prominent professor in a well-known university in a Western State asking for reports of any debates that may have taken place of recent years in the Parliament of Canada or in the Legislatures of the Provinces with respect to the annexation of the Dominion to the United States. Since I never heard a debate in the Dominion Parliament—since I never read of one in the Provincial Legislatures—on such an ill-advised scheme as union with the Federal Republic, of course it was impossible to comply with this request. All that could be done was to tell the gentleman that it was quite clear that he was totally misinformed as to the sentiments of the Canadian people; and that he must have been misled by the reckless and mischievous utterances of a few newspaper editors in America who manufacture Canadian opinions in their respective offices.

It would certainly appear from the editorials of such papers, and from the resolutions that are proposed regularly in Congress with the object of showing Canada the advantage and even the necessity of a political union with the United States, that the Dominion enjoys so little prosperity as a commercial and industrial community, and that its system of government is so incapable of giving freedom to its people and expansion to their industrial and political energies, as to have brought the time for a radical change in their destinies. One of the recent utterances of an idle politician is that of Senator Gallinger, of New Hampshire, who succeeded in framing a Congressional resolution on the subject quite as absurd in its premises and conclusions as any that preceded it. Canadians are told that a "political union" of the English-speaking communities which now occupy the continent will give greater security to the Dominion, stimulate its indusrty and commerce, and, what is most important, "promote and extend government by the people." One can hardly believe that many intelligent citizens of the United States or Canada take seriously what is the outcome of either mere Congressional humor and idleness or of an ardent desire to get a little notoriety in the newspapers—the great object of the ambition of the small legislative mind.

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It is quite possible, however, that there are some persons in the United States—I do not speak of Canada in such an improbable connection—who have a latent hope that Canada will, sooner or later, unite her fortunes with those of her great neighbor to the south, and realize the "continental idea" of Professor Goldwin Smith—that tall, gloomy figure, isolated from the people of Canada, who admire his abilities but pay no heed to his opinions in this particular.

As a matter of fact, at no time have the Canadian people been more content with the conditions of their national growth or more desirous of extending their relations with the rest of the colonial dependencies and increasing their influence in the Empire. During the late financial depression in the United States, Canadian banks and commerce came successfully through the crisis. At no time did Canadian bonds and securities stand higher than at present,—the most conclusive evidence of the confidence of the money-world in their progress and their capacity to meet all their obligations.

But it is not my intention to enter into any argument with respect to the material advantages that Canada possesses as a separate political community to the north of the Federal Republic. What I wish to show in this paper is the utter fallacy of the opinion expressed by the New Hampshire Senator—and it is not unlikely that he voices the ignorance of others—that a change in the system and methods of their government would be conducive to the liberty and happiness of the Canadian people. For, after all, considerations of a better system of government would be powerful arguments for a political union; it is a mere truism to say that the honest and effective administration of public affairs is the source of the true prosperity of a nation.

In showing some of the advantages of the Canadian governmental system, it will be necessary to make comparisons with the system of the Republic; but in doing so I must not be understood as desirous of depreciating the greatness of the Union, or the remarkable capacity of the people for self-government even despite the malign influences of the party machine. In these comparisons I give expression not simply to my own opinions, based on a close study of American institutions, but to those of thoughtful men within the Union itself, who have been laboring for years to bring about reforms in corrupting and baneful methods of government. The American people are learning through a bitter and costly experience—to quote the language of a recent writer in THE FORUM—that "it will not do to put too implicit a faith in our institutions"; . . . "that government

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of any kind is merely a machine, which must have machine tenders; that, if these do not do their duty, the machine will either not go at all, or become an engine of destruction."[1]

Whatever may be the defects and weaknesses of the machinery of Canadian government—defects and weaknesses arising from party bitterness and party ambition—it seems far better adapted than the government of the Republic to give to Canada all those elements of stability which are so necessary at this important stage of her political development, when her institutions are more or less on their trial in the operation of a federal system yet only a little more than a quarter of a century old. Canada appears to possess decided advantages over her neighbor in the working of her governmental institutions by the possession of the following conditions or elements of efficient administration, which exist in the machinery of the Dominion as well as in that of every Province:

Responsible or parliamentary government on the English model.

A permanent and non-political public service.

Appointments of all judges and public officials by the Crown on the advice of responsible ministers and heads of departments who have seats in Parliament; and a judiciary removable only by the successful impeachment by the Parliament of the Dominion—not by the Legislatures of the Provinces—and free from all political or popular influences.

A secret ballot in all classes of public elections; a complete system of laws for the repression and punishment of bribery and corruption at political as well as municipal elections; and the trial by an independent judiciary of all corrupt practices at elections.

The infrequency of elections.

The separation of municipal from party politics, Dominion as well as Provincial.

I might make this enumeration much longer, but I shall confine myself to those important questions, and endeavor to show some of the positive benefits that Canada has derived for many years from the adoption of these cardinal methods of efficient government, as well as the positive evils that have lowered and weakened the political institutions of the States as a consequence of their ignoring the same sound principles and giving party and democracy unbridled license.

The special advantages of the Canadian or English system of par-

[1] "Criminal Degradation of New York Citizenship," by J. Brooks Leavitt, THE FORUM for August, 1894.

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liamentary government, compared with Congressional government, may be briefly summed up as follows:

The Governor-General, his Cabinet, and the popular branch of the Legislature are governed in Canada, as in England, by a system of rules, conventions, and understandings which enable them to work in harmony with one another. The Crown, the Cabinet, the Legislature, and the People have, respectively, certain rights and powers which, when constitutionally and properly brought into operation, give strength and elasticity to our system of government. Dismissal of a Ministry by the Crown under conditions of gravity, or resignation of a Ministry, defeated in the popular house, bring into play the prerogatives of the Crown. In all cases there must be a Ministry to advise the Crown, assume responsibility for its acts, and obtain the support of the people and their representatives in Parliament. As a last resort to bring into harmony the People, the Legislature, and the Crown, there is the exercise of the supreme prerogative of dissolution. A governor, acting always under the advice of responsible ministers, may, at any time, generally speaking, grant an appeal to the people to test their opinion of vital public questions and bring the Legislature into accord with the public mind. In short, the fundamental principle of popular sovereignty lies at the very basis of the Canadian system.

On the other hand, in the United States, the President and his Cabinet may be in constant conflict with the two houses of Congress during the four years of his term of office. His Cabinet has no direct influence with the legislative bodies, inasmuch as they have no seats therein. The political complexion of Congress does not affect their tenure of office, since they depend only on the favor and approval of the executive; dissolution, which is the safety-valve of the Canadian or English system, "in its essence an appeal from the legal to the political sovereign," is not practicable under the United States Constitution. In a political crisis the Constitution provides no adequate solution of the difficulty during the presidential term. In this respect the people in the United States are not sovereign as they are in Canada under the conditions just briefly stated. The Canadian political machinery is in this respect more democratic.

The Governor-General is not personally brought into collision with the Legislature by the direct exercise of a veto of its legislative acts, since the Ministry are responsible for all legislation and must stand or fall by their important measures. The passage of a measure

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which they opposed as a Ministry would mean in the majority of cases their resignation, and it is not possible to suppose that they would ask the Governor to exercise a prerogative of the Crown which has been in disuse since the establishment of responsible government and would now be a revolutionary measure even in Canada.

In the United States, on the other hand, there is danger of frequent collision between the President and the two legislative branches, should a very critical exercise of the veto, as in President Johnson's time, occur when the public mind was deeply agitated. The Chief Magistrate loses in dignity and influence whenever the legislature overrides the veto, and Congress becomes master for the time being.

The Canadian Ministry, having control of the finances and taxes and of all matters of administration, are directly responsible to Parliament and sooner or later to the people for the manner in which they have discharged their public functions. All important measures are initiated by them, and on every question of public interest they are bound to have a definite policy if they wish to retain the confidence of the Legislature. Even in the case of private legislation they are the guardians of the public interests also and are responsible to Parliament and the people for any neglect in this particular.

On the other hand, in the United States the financial and general legislation of Congress is left to the control of committees, over which the President and his Cabinet have no direct influence, and the chairmen of which may have ambitious objects in direct antagonism to the men in office.

In the Canadian system the Speaker is a functionary who certainly has his party proclivities, but it is felt so long as he occupies the chair that all political parties can depend on his justice and impartiality. Responsible government makes the Premier and his ministers responsible for the constitution of the committees and for the opinions and decisions that may emanate from them. A government that should constantly endeavor to shift its responsibilities on committees, even of its own selection, would soon disappear from the treasury benches. Responsibility in legislation is accordingly secured, financial measures prevented from being made the footballs of ambitious and irresponsible politicians, and the impartiality and dignity of the speakership guaranteed by the presence in Parliament of a Cabinet having the direction and supervision of business.

On the other hand, in the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives becomes, from the very force of circum-

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stances, a political leader, and the spectacle is presented—in fact, from the time of Henry Clay has been presented—so strange to us familiar with English methods, of decisions given by him with clearly party purposes, and of committees formed by him with purely political aims, as likely as not with a view to thwart the ambition either of a President, who is looking to a second term, or of some prominent member of the Cabinet who has presidential aspirations. And all this lowering of the dignity of the chair is due to the absence of a responsible minister to lead the house. The very position which the Speaker is forced to take from time to time—notably in the case of the Fifty-second Congress—is clearly the results of the defects of the constitutional system of the United States, and is so much evidence that a responsible party leader is an absolute necessity in Congress. A legislature must be led, and Congress has been attempting to get out of a crucial difficulty by all sorts of questionable shifts which only show the inherent weakness of the existing system.

I have dwelt at considerable length on this institution of the Canadian government,—the most valuable institution that Canadians have derived from England,—since on its perfect operation depends, in the future as in the past, the successful accomplishment of all the great measures necessary for their economic, social, and political progress. Though a few persons from time to time grumble at its defects and weaknesses, which are mainly consequences of party government, or, perhaps, more strictly speaking, of the abuses of political management, yet Canadians are on the whole perfectly content with the system and never dream of changing it for the incomplete and hazardous methods of their neighbors. Chiefly through the strength that responsible government gives to the executive power, by bringing both executive and legislative authorities into close connection for the purpose of legislation, Canada has been able to accomplish all those reforms in her political conditions which the people of the United States are now endeavoring to bring about.

I have now before me a copy of the revised constitution which was last year adopted by the State of New York, and I find that almost every important amendment in that instrument has been for years in practical operation in Canada as a result of her system of government. Municipal elections are practically separated from the State and national politics—and I quote the words of the revised constitution—" to the end that the business affairs of the great municipal corporations may be managed upon their own merits, uncontrolled

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by national and State politics, and to the end also that the great issues of national and State politics may be determined upon their merits free from the disturbing and often demoralizing effect of local contests"—very suggestive words which Canadians will ponder whenever politicians attempt to change the present condition of things and introduce American methods. Municipal elections take place, as a rule, in all the Provinces once every year; Provincial elections once every four years; Dominion elections once every five years. Such infrequent elections, taken in connection with the system of appointing all public officials, necessarily minimize the evils of party faction compared with the system in operation in the Federal Republic. Canada long ago provided "safeguards" against abuses in legislative procedure by requiring that all bills shall be printed "not before their final passage," as it is now proposed in New York, but before they can be discussed at their second reading. A "rider to an appropriation bill" is unknown to modern Canadian procedure. Notice must be given under the rules of the Canadian Houses not only to "municipal authorities before special acts relating to the large cities can take effect," but to all persons and bodies affected by private or local legislation in Parliament. In the case of such bills Parliament acts through its committees in a *quasi*-judicial character. Canada has strict laws against pool-selling, book-making, lotteries, and gambling generally. She has never been obliged to strike off her statute book, as has now been done in New York, an extraordinary provision "limiting the right of recovery for injuries causing death to five thousand dollars"—a provision probably showing the power of railway corporations over State legislation as well as a doubt of a just verdict in such cases in the courts. No foreigner can vote in Canada until he has been duly naturalized, not merely after ninety days of citizenship, but after three years' residence—a provision which prevents naturalization falling into the hands of campaign committees, and giving an opportunity "to a single judge to naturalize men [as in New York] at the rate of more than five hundred a day." Canadian election laws require "a satisfactory system of registration of voters" in every Province. Canada has always had a permanent civil service, and some years ago enacted a law requiring appointments and promotions upon merit, and competitive examinations. All the Provinces have practically "free schools." In addition to all these reforms lately ratified by the people of New York State, Canadians twenty years ago adopted what is to all purposes the Australian ballot, introduced by

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the majority of the States only during the past five years. Many years ago the Canadian legislatures gave up their privilege of trying contested elections by their own committees, who were invariably influenced by political considerations; and now the Canadian judiciary form courts for the trial of corrupt practices at all classes of elections under the provisions of very stringent laws against bribery and corruption. No State of the Union possesses such perfect machinery for honest and free elections, and indeed it is a question whether it is possible to entrust such large responsibilities to the judiciary in every State, since it is elected by the people under the influences of political parties—a subject that I shall presently take up.

I emphasize again the following sources of strength of the Canadian system of government: The infrequency of political elections, the holding of elections for the Dominion Parliament and for the legislative assemblies of the Provinces at different dates, the separation of Federal issues, as a rule, from Provincial questions,—though the attempt is constantly made to mix them,—the entire separation of municipal from Provincial or other political questions; the permanency and non-political tenure of the civil service. On the other hand, the weaknesses of the American system—in fact, the evils that are sapping the republican and purely democratic institutions of the States,—mainly arise from these causes: The intimate connection between national, State, and municipal politics, the frequency of elections which bring into play all the schemes and machinations of the party managers and "bosses," the spoils system, and the popular election of numerous public officials who, as a consequence, are more or less partisans and supply a large proportion of the corruption funds of political parties.

The result of the spoils system has been in the several States the creation of the most discreditable class of professional politicians who ever lowered the institutions of a country of free government. From the primary meeting to the State convention, from the State to the national convention for the election of President, there is a remarkable combination of machinery for the purpose of manipulating the popular vote in every voting district and precinct of a State, on behalf of one party or the other. Office is the stake for which the professional politician plays, and all important issues are forgotten in view of this low animating motive. "How is the machine run?" asks Mr. Bryce.[1] "What are the inner springs that move it? What is

[1] "The American Commonwealth," 3d ed., vol. ii., p. 107.

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the source of the power the committees wield? What force of cohesion keeps leaders and followers together? What kind of government prevails among this army of professional politicians? The source of power and the cohesive force is the desire for office and for office as a means of gain."

The moment you bring party activity into play to obtain control of offices, and make those offices the means by which a party is to acquire and hold power, you contaminate the whole body politic and drain it of all its moral strength. Every office-holder whose office is elective, every officer who is not sure of his tenure of office and has no confidence in the working of civil-service rules, becomes an active worker in the political conflicts of the year, so numerous in every State of the Union. It is not the great body of electors that he thinks of pleasing, it is the manipulator or party manager, the boss who controls the machinery that is to elect him. As long as he is on the election ticket of his party, with other federal, State, and municipal candidates, he feels he has every chance that party management can give him, and that it is not a question of his ability or capacity to fill the place but of his having been nominated by his party, or, more correctly speaking, by its district or local boss.

Happily there is already a number of people in the Republic, but still a minority, who are striving for radical changes in their elective system and methods of party government. We have evidence of this wise and growing sentiment in the strenuous, and in part successful, efforts made of recent years to build up a permanent civil service for the nation and in several States, in the strengthening of the executive authority of the mayors in numerous cities and giving them control of important civic appointments, in the lengthening of the term of office of the State judiciary and other officials in several States, and lastly though not least in the adoption of the ballot system of Australia.

Every one will admit that the strongest judiciary in the United States, for learning and character, is the federal bench, which is removed from all popular influences, since it is appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate, has practically a life tenure, and cannot have its compensation diminished during the term of office of a judge. But it is needless to cite instances of the weakness of the State judiciary which owes its position to party. Nearly forty years ago, John Stuart Mill,[1] writing on this very subject, apprehended

[1] See "Considerations on Representative Government," c. xiv.

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"that the practice of submitting judicial officers to periodical popular re-election will be found to be one of the most dangerous errors ever yet committed by democracy; and were it not that the practical good sense which never totally deserts the people of the United States is said to be producing a reaction, likely in no long time to lead to the retraction of the error, it might with reason be regarded as the first downward step in the degeneration of modern democratic government."

But while the mischief that has arisen from the application of the elective principle to the State judiciary is undoubtedly serious, justice is fairly administered on the whole, because in so many States an upright and good judge has now reason to expect a long tenure of office. The tendency of a sound public opinion is shown by the fact that salaries have been generally raised, and the terms of office lengthened. Only four States now retain the old system of life-tenure—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Delaware. In the other States the longest term is in Pennsylvania—twenty-one years; the shortest is in Vermont—two; in one State it is fifteen; in another fourteen; in four, twelve; in one, ten; in three, nine; in seven, eight; in ten, six; in the remaining States, from four to seven. It is significant that of at least thirty States that have revised their constitutions in essential respects within fifteen years or so, only one has taken the appointment from the legislature or governor and entrusted it to the popular vote.

I have dwelt at some length on the experiences of the United States in working out the elective principle in their system of government, especially in connection with all classes of public officials who should be non-political in their tenure, so that my readers may thoroughly appreciate the advantages of Canadian institutions. Canada has one of the best devised political systems in the world so long as it is wisely and honestly administered. Its strength consists in the fact that it is based on the experiences of the two great countries to which Canadians naturally look for instruction and warning—England and the United States. Its institutions have kept pace with the development of the sound principles of parliamentary and federal government, and possess all that elasticity and capacity to meet critical situations as they arise, which seems wanting in the too rigid system of the United States whose Constitution is based on principles which existed in the middle of the last century, and are now not equal in essential respects to the conditions of modern political progress.

The public service enjoys all the advantages that arise from permanency of tenure and independence of a popular vote. The different practices that have prevailed so long in the American States—

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since the days of Jackson and Van Buren—have, above all other public evils, degraded political parties and sunk the country at times into the lowest possible depths of political baseness. Fortunately for the best interests of the Canadian people the system of electing public officials has never obtained in their country. In fact, their government continues to follow the same usage that prevailed in the old Colonial era, and practically in the Thirteen States for many years after their independence. It is the State of New York that was mainly responsible for the extension of the elective and spoils systems to all parts of the Union, and has brought such degradation to political life. In Canada, the Governor-General is appointed for six years by the Queen in council; the Lieutenant-Governors of the eight Provinces and Territories for five years by the Governor-General in council; their respective Ministries or Councils are chosen by these functionaries from the majority or ruling party in the Parliament or Provincial Legislatures, and retain office only while they possess the confidence of the people's representatives.

The judges are appointed by the Governor-General in council—justices of the peace and judges of probate being alone Provincial appointive officers—and can be removed only by an address to the Governor-General from the two Houses of the Dominion Parliament. The great body of clerks and minor officials that fall within the category of the civil service are regulated by statutory enactments providing for appointments, examinations, promotions, and salaries. The Dominion and Provincial Governments can, however, within their respective spheres of authority, appoint collectors of customs, postmasters, deputy-ministers, sheriffs, registrars, clerks of the Crown, county attorneys, and a few other officials; but only when a vacancy occurs, since all public officials, once appointed, hold their positions practically during good behavior. Patronage, one of the trying conditions of party government, is consequently restrained by the rules of the civil service and by the permanency of tenure. In the case of the few appointments that are vacant in the course of a year, responsibility rests immediately on the executive as for every other act of administration. All appointments are the subject of discussion in the advisory councils, which become directly responsible for the advice that is given to the Governor-General or the Lieutenant-Governor, whose duty it is to inform himself thoroughly with respect to all important nominations to office before he signs the commission or order in council authorizing the appointment. Should he believe from

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facts that have come to his knowledge that an appointment is most undesirable in the public interests—a very rare case indeed in Canadian political annals—it is for him to exercise that pressure which he can constitutionally exercise in all matters on which he is advised and his action is required. The Legislature as a body does not assume to make such appointments or to interfere directly with the legal powers of the executive authority on such matters; but it may, and sometimes does, sharply criticise and even censure the conduct of the executive with respect to appointments. In every case it has a right to the fullest information on the subject.

Here is one of the advantages of the system of parliamentary government as worked out in England and Canada. The presence of the advisers of the executive—practically the executive itself—in the Legislature, gives that body supreme control over its acts. A House divided into two contending parties, a Government and an Opposition, will not fail to give due importance to any aggravated case of the abuse of patronage. Any government or member thereof that has been guilty of such abuse is open to the fullest criticism in the Legislature, and in the public press. Nothing can be concealed from public view, and responsibility rests where it should. Every member of a government, under the English or Canadian system of parliamentary government, must act under a feeling of direct responsibility. Every such minister has his ambitions, and dares not, in the face of public opinion to which he must submit himself sooner or later, make what would be a notoriously bad appointment. Personal qualifications, character, and local sentiment in the district where the officer is placed are all questions to be immediately considered by the member and the minister recommending the filling of the office. Of course there are defects in such a system, as in all methods of government. Some appointments are weak, if none are notoriously bad; but they are as a a rule good. The public service of Canada, generally, has on the whole been creditable to the country, and remarkably free from political influences when men are once appointed to office. Corruption and dishonesty are not charged against it as a class.

It says much for the efficiency and integrity of the public service of Canada, appointed under such conditions as I have mentioned, that it has not been shown guilty for the past twenty or thirty years of such gross incompetency and malversation of funds as have occurred in connection with the funds of elected county councils. Such cases

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of mismanagement, speculation, and jobbery as have come to light of late have been in the administration of the affairs of the two largest cities, Montreal and Toronto. It is well to bear in mind that it is the elective principle in these cities that is now at stake, since it is the conduct of aldermen that has been judicially arraigned. Many influential and thinking men in Canadian cities—in Toronto especially—have come to think that a small permanent commission, appointed by the Government, would best manage civic affairs. The hand of justice has already been laid on the Toronto offenders, and the municipal body freed from the evil influences that have been weakening it. Canadian justice in such cases—happily very exceptional—is prompt and effective. No Tammany is possible under our civic and political machinery.

So long as Canada adheres to existing principles of sound government and is not misled by unsafe political agitators—to be found in every country—to adopt the dangerous methods of party in the Republican States, her people may continue to have confidence in the future of their federal union. At present, assuredly, they can see no reasons for a "political union" in such weaknesses and evils of the purely democratic system of their neighbors as have been set forth in this paper with much brevity. When Canadians are invited, even on the floor of Congress itself, "to cast in their lot with their own continent," and are assured "that they shall have all that the continent can give," they refuse to consider the offer seriously, not because they have no interest in the progress of their American cousins who are also the inheritors of English institutions, but because they know that they are working out those institutions on principles far more conducive to the pure and effective administration of public affairs—that in this respect, at all events, they are already in advance of a great and prosperous people who have been led in the course of years by reckless politicians into methods of government which have lowered the standard of public morality and created scandals of far-reaching influence on the nation. Canadians have higher aspirations at this critical period of their political development, when they are laboring amid many difficulties to form a new Power on this continent, one-half of which they now possess as their territorial domain.

JNO. GEO. BOURINOT.

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THE CRIMINAL CROWDING OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

An examination of the condition of the public schools, as outlined by recent reports of the School Boards of some of our large cities, shows that we are very far from the liberal, and at the same time economical, administration of public instruction which is to be expected from an intelligent nation that has its rulers to educate.

The situation in Brooklyn, N. Y., for example, as shown by the report of the Superintendent of Schools for 1893, is deplorable. Many school-rooms are ill ventilated and far too small, the number of sittings is much larger than hygienic rules permit, and in the Report it is considered as a matter for congratulation that two cellars have just ceased to be used as class-rooms. It is generally admitted that one teacher cannot instruct with the best results more than 35 or 40 pupils, and that, when large classes are necessary, advanced pupils are more readily taught in large groups than the same number in primary grades, because older children have better habits of attention than younger ones. In Brooklyn, however, the primary schools are "excessively overcrowded." The report says:

> "If we may take 60 as the largest number of pupils that one teacher can instruct with any degree of effectiveness and the largest number that may occupy an ordinary class-room without danger to health, it appears that in October last there were 377 classes in which the conditions of effective teaching and hygienic precaution did not exist. . . . Of these classes, 231 had registers between 60 and 70; 65 classes had registers between 70 and 80; 22 classes had registers between 80 and 90; 18 classes had registers between 90 and 100; 2 classes had registers between 100 and 110; 16 classes had registers between 120 and 130; 4 classes had registers between 130 and 140; 2 classes had registers between 140 and 150; while one class reached the enormous total of 158."

For one person to teach 150 children is an impossible task, and that the city of Brooklyn requires some poor woman to attempt it shows an ignorance of human powers and an indifference to human suffering that would be incredible of the Dark Ages. If a parent were offered the alternative of having his child go to school in a cellar, or of sharing in the one hundred and fiftieth part of the time of a tired, overworked teacher, he well might hesitate before he decided.

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In either case it would be better for the child if he should remain at home. The overcrowding in Brooklyn was probably worse in 1894 than it was in 1893, for the additional sittings that could be offered were only 1,800 in 1894 to meet an annual increase of 5,000.

It is very properly remarked in the Brooklyn Report that when classes are overcrowded there are always many pupils who learn next to nothing that is useful, but who, on the other hand, form habits of idleness and inattention which seriously impair their success in life. The children in these overcrowded classes are so badly taught that it is necessary for them to go over the same year's work more than once, and many are thus deprived of the privileges of liberal education because their school years are ended before they reach the higher grades.

The Superintendent and teachers in Brooklyn and other cities are not to be held responsible for the overcrowding of the schools. They are usually persons of integrity and energy who are overworked and underpaid, and the only criticism of them that is called for here is that in their reports they dwell on favorable things and are not likely sufficiently to emphasize the wretched conditions under which the ignorance of voters and the parsimony of city officials force them to work. The Superintendent of the Brooklyn schools says with regard to the responsibility for the whole unfortunate situation in that city: "The fault is not yours, gentlemen of the Board of Education. The fault belongs to the city authorities who in 1892 and 1893 failed to make at your request the requisite appropriation to provide for the erection of school buildings in 1894."

The report of the Committee on School-Houses in Boston, published in December, 1894, describes the situation there as one of "great public exigency," and, without anticipating future wants, the estimated amount required for buildings and improvements now absolutely necessary reaches the enormous total of nearly $2,357,000. The School Committee has for years pointed out the need of many of these improvements, but there is incredible delay by the City Council in making the required appropriation. For example, "The Thomas N. Hart school-house was first occupied in December, 1889, 5 years and 9 months after the first request for the building was sent to the City Council." On account of such delays it has often been necessary to provide accommodations for the children in rented rooms. This is always an expensive and unsatisfactory expedient, for in rented buildings sanitary appliances are sure to be inadequate and unsuitable, and

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as such buildings do not have ventilating shafts, fresh air, too often in insufficient quantities, must be obtained through the windows, and the pupils are exposed to drafts. Moreover, it is difficult properly to supervise schools that are scattered about in rented rooms.

The work of the Boston Normal School has been impaired for years by the lack of sufficient accommodations; and the following enumeration of some of the difficulties with which that important institution has to contend may cause surprise:—

> "Two or three classes quartered in one hall and reciting at the same time; classes arranged in the corridors and teachers' private rooms; no convenience whatever for gymnastics, manual training, physical laboratory work, drawing, kindergarten instruction, and work in elementary science. . . . The school is seriously and sadly crippled, and its immediate relief is of absolute importance."

It should be remembered that upon the Normal School depends the future of the entire school system; for, unless the teachers are properly trained, that good instruction, which city councils apparently do not consider better than riches, is impossible.

The Girls' High School, in Boston, built to accommodate 925 pupils, has to suffice for 1095: desks are therefore crowded together and basement and attic rooms used. At the Roxbury High School it is necessary to refuse admission to an increasing number of pupils every year. The Dorchester High School has 9 teachers and only 6 class-rooms. The number of teachers exceeds the number of class-rooms in other schools in Boston and in Baltimore as well. It is not easy to understand how they manage to conduct two recitations at one time in the same room. That there should anywhere be more teachers than class-rooms is one of the most senseless and costly blunders ever made by parsimonious ignorance. There are not only not enough rooms in the Dorchester High School, but the rooms are so poorly lighted that on dark days some of the seats in the already overcrowded rooms cannot be used. No suitable cloak-rooms have been provided, the sanitary arrangements are extremely inadequate, and it is necessary to use a class-room as a corridor to pass from one part of the building to another. Originally intended to accommodate 150, the building now has to suffice for 272 pupils.

It is hardly necessary to comment on schools located in unsuitable neighborhoods where there is the constant rattle and rumble of traffic and of neighboring factories, nor on schools where a majority of the children must cross dangerous railroad tracks four times a day:—

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these unfortunate conditions are common in all large cities. But I may be permitted to hope that antique wooden buildings with the deficient ventilation of fifty years ago, buildings which have been pronounced unsafe in case of fire, where the rooms are dark, and where for lack of suitable school-yards the children at recess are turned out into the streets to play, where over-garments must be hung up in unlighted cloak-rooms that are ventilated only through the class-rooms so that "in stormy weather the wet clothing of the children occasions a most disagreeable and unhealthful state of the atmosphere,"—I may be permitted to hope that conditions such as these are peculiar to Boston alone. Boston could not find a more suitable inscription for her council chambers than that sentence from Emerson—"The best political economy is care and culture of men."

In many cities it is necessary to have two sets of children instructed in the lower grades, one in the morning and another in the afternoon. In Minneapolis, for example, there are more than 16,000 children enrolled in the first three grades, and for one-third of these only half-day sessions can be given. No one can fail to agree with the Superintendent when he says, "It is a very serious matter to deprive children of one-half of their school privileges." In Philadelphia about 8,000 children are similarly uncared for.

In the report of the Trustees of Public Schools of the District of Columbia for 1893 we read of 500 pupils crowded into a building that can adequately accommodate only 400, while it is necessary to use rented rooms for many classes. Schools for the first and second grades also are open for only half the time, for we read, "The return to half-day schools above the second grade is to be deplored, yet unless accommodations are largely increased many third and fourth grade schools in the near future will be forced to go on half time." The condition of the colored schools is wretched indeed. I condense from the report of Superintendent Cook:—In the Sumner and Lincoln buildings the air is impure and vitiated, and the floors of the first story schools being laid on the bare ground are decaying so that no protection is furnished against dampness and soil gases. It is recommended that the Stevens and Bowen buildings be torn down. The former, erected in 1868, is so poorly built that it is prematurely old. The light and ventilation could hardly be worse, and it has been necessary to abandon four much-needed school-rooms, while in the eight others the floors are worn so thin as to be dangerous to life and limb. There is a very large school population around the

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Stevens school and even third grade schools must work on half time; in fact, out of 218 colored schools in the District of Columbia more than a third, 78, were kept on half time.

The President of the School Board of Milwaukee in his address for 1893 says that there is no room in the public schools of that city for many children who wish to attend, and that others are housed in unhealthful and unsuitable buildings.

"A few figures will best show the situation: 2,478 children are attending in barracks and rented rooms; 349 are attending in a school building which has been condemned as unfit; 488 in a building which should be condemned; 273 have been refused admission. There are at least a thousand children who would apply if accommodations could be provided, and there are 935 in attendance in excess of the number apportioned to the classes by the rules. By September, 1894, there will be an increase in school population seeking admission of 3,600. This makes a total of 8,286 that ought to be provided for at once."

We are somewhat relieved by the statement that the Council is alive to the necessities of the schools and that within a few years all children will be suitably provided for. It is estimated that there are nearly 35,000 persons of school age in Milwaukee who do not attend school.

The report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools of Baltimore for 1893 shows that of the 112 school buildings in that city 24 are rented. Such buildings are "generally unsuited for school use and detrimental to the health of teachers and pupils. Many of the teachers have been performing their work under serious disadvantages in consequence of the unhealthy buildings which they have been compelled to occupy." There are portions of the city where there is a large school population, yet where the school buildings are so unfit that parents are unwilling to endanger the health of their children by sending them to school. The Report goes on:—

"It is a just complaint that the appropriations for new school-houses are often too small to induce the best builders in our city to bid for the work, and the result has often been that inferior builders obtain the contracts and inferior houses are erected, which soon need repairing. It would be very desirable to avoid this objectionable condition in the future by making proper appropriations sufficient to pay a fair price for labor and materials."

The Eastern Female High School has 14 teachers and only 11 class-rooms, which calls forth the obvious remark that "some of the teachers have been performing their work under disadvantageous circumstances." The same disadvantageous circumstances are to be

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contended with in other schools. School No. 33 has 950 pupils, 21 teachers, and only 12 class-rooms; while annex No. 12 "is kept in three buildings: the basement of a church, a building adjoining the church formerly used for a parish school, and a rented dwelling located at some distance from the other two buildings. Nearly all these rooms are too small, most of them are badly lighted and ventilated, and they are not conveniently located for the use of a school to be supervised and controlled by one principal." Of the school at Chestnut and Fourth Avenues we read:

"The building contains 12 class-rooms, and the number of teachers is 16, which in four instances necessitates two teachers to teach their classes in one class-room. Two classes cannot be satisfactorily taught in one room. Besides the lack of proper conditions for the best instruction, the foul air occasioned by overcrowding the rooms renders the pupils dull and listless, and at the same time lays the foundation for disease."

In Detroit, as shown by the Report of the Board of Education for 1893, a "very distressing condition" prevailed in some sections of the city from lack of proper accommodations.

"New High Schools should have been erected five years ago and thus have avoided the crowded condition of to-day. The pupils who are now compelled to go through this school hampered and cramped will never recover from the ill effects occasioned by loss of opportunities due them from the city." . . . "Seventy-five per cent of all our children who enter school have left at the age of twelve. If we have taught them how to read we have done well."

In Buffalo, in 1893, there were estimated to be from 15,000 to 25,000 children of school age who were not receiving instruction, yet some of the schools were obliged to refuse admission to pupils; many buildings were hardly fit for occupation, and more were badly overcrowded.

In Richmond, Va., unsuitable basement rooms are in some cases used, some buildings are still heated by stoves, and in many of them the sanitary arrangements are antiquated and imperfect. "Most of the school property is in bad condition. The sum appropriated for repairs and improvements is totally inadequate to meet the necessities of the schools."

A very frequent cause of complaint is the small number of male teachers employed in the public schools. In Philadelphia, for instance, there are 2,851 female teachers and only 137 male teachers. However well trained women may be, they cannot teach older boys efficiently, and in many cases when they are instructed by women the older boys leave school.

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The rapid growth of our large cities, and the shifting of population from one part of a city to another owing to the introduction of rapid transit, make it extremely difficult to anticipate school needs, but in most of our cities no systematic attempt is made to determine where the increased pressure is likely to exist. An annual school census is one of the chief requisites of our educational system.

The ignorance and indifference of parents and voters is a cause, as well as an unfortunate result, of defective public schools. City educational authorities publish annual reports, but these reports are not prepared after any definite plan, and the ideas of their compilers as to what should be embodied in a school report vary widely. Small effort is made to give a systematic statement of the needs of the schools, and, even when such information is given, it is sometimes unintentionally obscured beneath a mass of other data, so that unless one is expressly looking for it one will not find it. Superintendents should be required by law to make out annually or oftener special reports on the deficient school accommodations, pointing out exactly how many children are deprived of school privileges, how many are taught on half time, how many schools are taught by women that should be taught by men, what rooms are overcrowded and ill-ventilated, and what sanitary arrangements are imperfect. When a copy of this special report is regularly sent to every voter and parent, city councils will not find it so trifling a matter to refuse needed school appropriations.

JAMES H. PENNIMAN.

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CROWDED SCHOOLS AS PROMOTERS OF DISEASE.

THERE is no subject of greater importance than the health of the rising generation. Of the many influences that affect it, the hygiene of our schools holds a prominent place, but it does not receive the attention it deserves by those in authority in our public school system. My attention was first drawn to this subject by my connection with several large children's clinics in New York, and a study of the various causes of illness in the cases brought there for treatment. As these clinics are frequented only by poor people, the tenement-house question was early considered, but it was found that in the poorest and most congested districts, the school-accommodation was well-nigh invariably the worst and most insanitary. The school, quite as much as the home, is responsible for a great deal of ill-health. The following conditions, which cannot but have a potent influence upon the health of children, exist in a large number of our public schools.

First—Many of them are overcrowded, with the result that individual classes are too large, especially in the lower grades. The rules of the New York Board of Education allow one teacher to 50 pupils in the primary schools, and prohibit any one class from containing more than 75 pupils. Under this system one teacher may be obliged to do the foundation-work in a class numbering from 50 to 75 children. How 60 little children can be properly taught in one class is a problem in physiology as well as in psychology; for the subject of overcrowding is one of great importance in respect to their health. No public-school building should be constructed that will accommodate more than 800 or 1,000 children, several buildings being put up, if necessary, to house larger numbers; for the massing together of so many in one place cannot but favor insanitary conditions which are sure to induce ill-health, and particularly the spread of infection.

Second—The ventilation is often extremely defective, and the cubic air-space allowed to each pupil is insufficient. In the three lower classes of the primary schools, the prescribed allowance of space to each pupil in New York is 70 cubic feet, in the three higher grades 80 cubic feet, while in the four lower grades of the grammar

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classes the allowance is 90 cubic feet, and in the four higher grades 100 cubic feet. The Board of Health requires that in tenement-houses the allowance shall be at least 400 cubic feet, and, in some cases, 600 cubic feet to each person. Four hundred cubic feet are required for each lodger in the lodging-houses of New York City. With a low allowance of cubic space to each child, there is no suitable way in the older buildings of letting out the exhausted air, and substituting fresh air in its place. It is obvious that even with a generous allowance of cubic air-space, if there be no way of constantly removing foul air, a room full of children will soon become close and stuffy. Proper mechanical appliances are needed, therefore, to keep the air of these school-rooms pure, by affording means of a constant exodus of the foul air and a steady supply of fresh air.

This is a problem that has been solved by sanitary engineers, who can accurately estimate the methods of supplying so many cubic feet of fresh air per hour to each individual in a room. More than ten years ago a Commission in the District of Columbia, appointed to report upon the condition of the public schools, agreed that in each class-room not less than 15 square feet of floor-space should be allowed to each pupil. Moreover, the provisions for ventilation should be such as to provide for each person in a class-room not less than 30 cubic feet of fresh air per minute (1,800 cubic feet per hour), which amount must be introduced and thoroughly distributed without creating unpleasant drafts. The law of Massachusetts now requires that in public schools there shall be at least 1,800 cubic feet of fresh air supplied to each individual every hour in a room continuously occupied. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction of New York has recommended 250 cubic feet, and from 15 to 18 square feet of floor space, to each child. Experience shows that the health of children in our large schools can be best conserved by allowing 15 square feet of floor space, 250 cubic feet of air-space, and at least 1,800 cubic feet of fresh air to each pupil per hour. The purity of air in a given space is estimated by the proportion of carbonic acid it contains. Pure country air is estimated to contain about 4 parts of carbonic acid in 10,000, but a room may be fairly well ventilated and contain from 6 to 8 parts by volume of this ingredient in 10,000. If the proportion goes higher, a stuffy, unpleasant, animal odor will appear, that may not be noticeable to the occupants of a room, but is disagreeably apparent to one coming in from the outside air. One cannot remain long in such a room with-

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out a headache, or experiencing a depression of vitality. Some years ago, an examination of certain badly ventilated school-rooms in Boston showed that the proportion of carbonic acid ranged as high as 30 in 10,000. It is not so much the presence of the carbonic acid itself, as the accompanying vapors and decomposing organic matters, that are deleterious to health in a badly ventilated room. It is an interesting physiological fact, moreover, to note that a vigorous child will produce about twice as much carbonic acid as an adult, in proportion to body weight. The problem of proper ventilation thus becomes exceedingly important.

Third—The light is bad in many class-rooms, especially in the lower grades. Most of the primary schools in New York are situated in the lower and inferior parts of grammar-school buildings, which are closely surrounded, in many cases, by high structures. The upper stories of the school buildings may get sufficient light, but the lower rooms are often comparatively dark, and gas has to be more or less constantly burned. The strain to which the children's eyes are subjected by artificial light, or by conflicting lights, cannot but result in weakening them. The importance of this aspect of the question will be realized when we consider the increase of faulty accommodation and various other eye-defects in little children. The relation between the source and intensity of the light and the position of the children should always be carefully considered: no seat should ever face a window or other source of light.

Fourth—Many of the class-rooms are not provided with proper furniture. The children are often forced to sit in constricted, uncomfortable positions, especially when at work. When we consider the tendency to slight degrees of spinal curvature in children, it is seen how important it is that chairs and desks should be specially constructed with reference to their size and development. In some cases the benches are too high for the smallest children, so that their feet are unable to touch the floor. This attitude tires the back, and they may try and rest themselves by stretching their legs to the next bench. Every child should have a single seat and desk for itself, regulated according to its size. Children should not be seated in a row, or at least not closely enough to touch one another. Slates should be abolished, not only in the interest of cleanliness, but because of the danger of their becoming infected by disease-germs, and hence spreading contagion.

Finally, in many schools there is no proper place to hang wraps

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and cloaks. Some of the class-rooms have narrow wardrobes at the back where clothing is shut in; in others the outer garments are hung directly upon hooks in the wall. Damp and dirty outer clothing should never be kept in a school-room crowded with little children, for in case any of these articles are infected by germs of disease, especially of scarlet-fever and diphtheria, many of the adjacent garments are liable to be infected. This is a subject of great importance in regard to the spread of contagious diseases among the poor. No better rough incubator of disease germs could be devised than a small, closed, unventilated wardrobe on a stormy day, packed with the wet and soiled outer clothing of children coming from all sorts and kinds of homes. Much care and thought should be spent upon the best means of disposing of the outer clothing of children during school hours. Proper drying and ventilating rooms should always be provided.

Two schools on the east side of New York City that I have recently visited show the defects that are to be seen in many of the lower grade schools. School number 42, on Allen Street, has 1,444 children on the register. The rooms are crowded, and, during the present term, from 500 to 600 children have been refused admittance for want of room. So far as can be learned, about 200 of these children have entered other schools in the ward. The rooms in the front of the building are not well lighted, the elevated railroad structure being directly in front of the windows. The noise made by the passing trains requires the windows to be kept closed much of the time; hence the ventilation is bad. One class-room contains 67 children, four others 62 each, the remaining classes being smaller as required by the air-space in the rooms. The ventilation is bad in most of the rooms because there is no suitable way of constantly changing the air. In some of the class-rooms, the outer clothing of the children is packed in closed wardrobes, in others it is hung upon hooks in the wall. In four of the rooms there is no place provided for wraps, which are placed upon the seats.

Primary school number 20, at 160 Chrystie Street, has 948 children on the register. About 300 children have been refused admittance, and 230 of these have not been able to get in elsewhere, so far as I know. The main room is dark and badly ventilated, and the rear portion of this room, when closed in by the sliding partitions, has no opening on the outside air. Eleven of the class-rooms use gas most of the time, and four others have asked for gas on account

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of the poor light. Three of the class-rooms are on the ground floor, and they open out upon the yard containing the closets. Two class-rooms contain 75 children each, two 70 each, two 69 each, and the rest average about 50 in accordance with the air-space rule. The provision for wraps is good, consisting of open wardrobes, with hooks, usually running the length of the class-room. The playground is very dark, and is in direct connection with the closets. The odor from these is noticeable not only in the three ground-floor class-rooms, but even on the floor above.

While the newer public school buildings in New York conform, generally, to hygienic rules, the older structures, which are mainly in the poorer districts, are, most of them, in a bad sanitary condition. The life-conditions of thousands of poor children in tenement-houses are bad enough. It is at least the duty of our cities to see to it that their bad environment is not continued in the schools. What is needed is a more constant and regular sanitary oversight of the schools by experts in hygiene. When we appreciate the importance of school hygiene in relation to a proper and symmetrical development of child-life, we shall give this subject the attention and thought that its importance demands. Boards of Education and Trustees should be recruited more largely from the ranks of physicians and scientific men.

HENRY DWIGHT CHAPIN.

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HAVE WE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY?

PRESENT conditions are always so near the eye that one fails to see preceding conditions, and therefore true comparison fails. Looking out over our own country to-day, the political, industrial, and social conditions confront us so boldly that we are apt to think them the worst that have prevailed in modern times. It is difficult to take in long sweeps of history and draw comparisons which shall be reasonably exact or fairly just. Our own environment we see and fairly comprehend: the environment of a century or two ago does not interest us vitally, nor are we able to comprehend clearly its nature. The poetic side of the past often survives, at the expense of the historical, and the longing for the good old times becomes almost a pathetic passion, and the ills, the incongruities, and the stress of the present result in another pathetic passion, shown in the indictments brought against society. Such indictments are easily drawn, but the philosophy of the conditions is difficult to understand. It is natural, too, that men should approach any discussion of the past, in comparison with the present, from different points of view, which points are determined by temperament, and temperament is classified as pessimism or optimism. The true philosophical course, it seems to me, is to endeavor to understand the vital relations of men at different periods in accordance with the industrial and economic opportunities existing, and to this end there should be neither an overdrawn, rosy picture from the optimistic standpoint, nor a despondent and discouraging picture from the pessimistic point of view. Optimism leads to as many illogical conclusions as pessimism; so the optimist—and I claim to be one—should always consider social and industrial environment with a large dash of pessimism drawn from observation and experience. The pessimist, by nature, usually fails to comprehend past conditions when bringing his powerful indictments against present conditions; so in judging whether we are really making any progress toward a greater equality of opportunity we should endeavor, in all honesty and in all fairness, to look at facts as they are ascertainable for a long period of time, ignoring extremes,—that is, periods of abnormal development and periods of depression.

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In answering the question involved in this consideration, it would be interesting to take a broad view of what opportunity really means; but crystallized facts would not help us so much in this broad consideration as they do in taking a more immediate and narrower line of thought, for they bring us to the economic and industrial opportunities which really underlie every other sort of opportunity.

Looking out broadly, one may say that wider opportunities have come to all classes in society, to the rich as well as to the poor, to the professional man as well as to the artisan, to semi-professional workers as well as to common laborers. The rich improve their opportunities in their own ways: in philanthropic and benevolent channels, in the endowment of institutions, in the making of their wealth into factors for higher civilization, in making themselves happier by increasing the sum total of the happiness of individuals around them. The opportunities which come to the rich through broader intelligence have increased a hundred-fold over those which could be embraced by like classes a century or more ago. They take up the work of the schools, perfect themselves as poets, artists, and teachers, and everywhere we find now, in a greater degree than even a quarter of a century ago, the sons of wealthy parents actively engaged in our universities, in scientific and in literary work, and by their means developing their minds and helping along the whole work of an enlightened civilization. Not content with mere charity, which may be and often is a curse to society, they are spending their means in helping to create not only opportunities in life, but in equipping young men and women to embrace such opportunities when offered. This altruistic sentiment is growing in the higher walks of life, and the lower are benefiting thereby. The point is to exercise the altruistic sentiment judiciously and not merely as sentiment. Sentimental altruism weakens society, but judicious altruism, which seeks to create opportunities and fit men for them, helps in every direction and broadens the culture of all. This judicious altruism recognizes that labor, employment of the mind, is an essential to good morals, for it means that kind of application which involves the best and the highest intellectual effort, and this lifts men out of crude, muscular employment, which dwarfs and restricts mental development. Leaving this broad field, I prefer to bring such facts as I have been able to collect to bear upon the more restricted field just intimated,—that relating to the economic and industrial opportunities of life as the very foundation of social success and of all other opportunities open to all classes.

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Society, as it represents the whole body, is often pictured as a pyramid, very broad at the base, but not quite reaching a vertex, the base representing the great body of the poorest and least developed specimens of humanity, the top representing either the very rich, or those standing highest in intellectual attainments, or those who have reached the highest grades in public service. Between the top and the base are all the different grades of development and attainment, the upper stratum depending for its strength and support upon the broad base of the structure. The cleavage of society under this illustration is horizontal. The pessimist claims that this form not only continues to exist, but that the base is ever broadening, so that the horizontal cleavage is becoming more and more marked, and the opportunities in life, of course, growing less and less, the resulting condition being that the height of the vertex above the base decreases. It will be admitted, I presume, that instead of the vertex reaching a point, it has been broadened as the number of the rich and the cultured has increased; but, taking the whole structure on the pyramidal form, it is claimed there has been no improvement in the cleavage.

The optimist, on the other hand, pictures society as a column which has grown out of the pyramid; that is, to his mind the base has ever been drawn in and the top ever broadened, until the structure is more nearly represented by a column, the cleavage of society being vertical instead of horizontal. Probably each view is an extreme one now. I believe it to be true that the pyramidal form is gradually, if slowly, changing to the columnar form, the base of the pyramid ever narrowing and the vertex ever disappearing. The facts prove this if they prove anything, but the facts must be drawn from a wide range of conditions and not from exceptional cases. The facts for our own country cover a sufficiently broad experience without looking into those relating to other countries, yet at the inception we must consider the conditions which resulted in opening to the world this vast empire of western territory.

It is true that the evils of our own time have always existed, no matter what the social or legal status of men. They have existed under the most favorable as well as under the most unfavorable conditions, under liberal and under despotic governments, in barbarous and in enlightened lands, with heathenism and with Christianity; and yet pauperism, which represents the lowest stratum in the cleavage, always has been and always will be, in a high philosophical sense, a

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rebuke to a people living under constitutional liberty. America has no right, theoretically, to permit its existence; yet in this conclusion we must not consider the matter of opportunity as a question of this year or of the few years just passed, but in its totality as it relates to the age of our people.

Employment of the unemployed will not crush pauperism, not even if every able-bodied man in the land could be furnished with work to-morrow; universal education will not; the realization of the highest hopes of the reformers of all kinds will not; the general adoption of the Christian religion will not,—but all these grand and divine agencies working together, as they are now working together, will reduce it to its minimum. Physical agencies without all the higher elements can do but little. The early history of our country teaches this truth. America was not settled purely to give a certain party or body of people the right or the privilege of thinking in their own ways on theological subjects. The people who first came to America may have had this idea firmly implanted within them, but the spur which sent most of them here was of another kind.

In a treatise written by Richard Hakluyt, of England, in 1584, on the religious, political, and commercial advantages to be derived by England from the attempted colonization of America, entitled "A Discourse on Westerne Plantinge," recently discovered, and published for the first time in 1877 by the Maine Historical Society, the familiar questions, how to employ the unemployed, how to broaden the opportunities for productive labor, were discussed by the author, and in terms which remind one forcibly of the discussions and the schemes of this age.

In urging upon the English government the undertaking of voyages with a view to the colonization of America, Hakluyt used this language (the spelling being modernized), after referring to the prosperity of Spain and Portugal:

"But we, for all the statutes that hitherto can be devised, and the sharp execution of the same in punishing idle and lazy persons for want of sufficient occasion of honest employment, cannot deliver our Commonwealth from multitudes of loiterers [tramps, we call them] and idle vagabonds. Truth it is, that through our long peace and seldom sickness, two singular blessings of Almighty God, we are grown more populous than ever heretofore; so that now there are of every art and science so many that they can hardly live one by another; nay, rather, they are ready to eat up one another; yea, many thousands of idle persons are within this realm, which, having no way to be set on work, be either mutinous and seek alteration in the State, or at least, very burdensome to the Commonwealth, and often fall to pilfering and thieving and other lewdness, whereby

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all the prisons of the land are daily pestered and stuffed full of them, where either they pitifully pine away, or else at length are miserably hanged, even twenty at a clap out of some one jail. Whereas if this voyage were put in execution, these petty thieves might be condemned for certain years in the western parts."

After giving a glowing picture of results so desirable, Hakluyt concluded that as a result of the voyages "there need not one poor creature to steal, to starve, or to beg, as they do." This statement of Hakluyt's refers to a time only a quarter of a century prior to the permanent settlements on our coast, while in 1629, John Winthrop, the first Governor of Massachusetts, before he left the old home, stated, among others, these reasons for leading emigrants out of the overburdened England which Hakluyt described:

"This land grows weary of her inhabitants so as man, who is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth we tread upon, and of less price among us than a horse or a sheep. Many of our people perish for want of sustenance and employment; many others live miserably and not to the honor of so bountiful a housekeeper as the Lord of heaven and earth is, through the scarcity of the fruits of the earth. All of our towns complain of the burthen of poor people, and strive by all means to rid any such as they have, and to keep off such as would come to them. I must tell you that our dear mother finds her family so overcharged as she hath been forced to deny harbor to her own children,—witness the statutes against cottages and inmates. And thus it is come to pass that children, servants, and neighbors, especially if they be poor, are counted the greatest burthens, *which, if things were right, would be the chiefest earthly blessing.*"

One more quotation, and we will come to our own times. This is from Sir William Petty, the author of the famous "Political Arithmetick, or a Discourse Concerning the Extent and Value of Lands, People, Buildings," etc., published in 1691, more than a century after Hakluyt had described his England. Sir William recapitulates the fears of many men of his time concerning the welfare of England, as follows:

"That the Rent of Lands are generally fall'n; that therefore, and for many other Reasons, the whole Kingdom grows every Day poorer and poorer; that formerly it abounded with Gold, but now there is a great scarcity both of Gold and Silver; that there is no Trade nor Employment for the People, and yet that the Land is under-peopled; that taxes have been many and great; that Ireland and the Plantations in America and other Additions to the Crown, are a Burthen to England; that Scotland is of no advantage; that Trade in general doth lamentably decay; that the Hollanders are at our heels, in the race of Naval Power; the French grown too fast upon both, and appear so rich and potent, that it is but their Clemency that they do not devour their Neighbors; and finally, that the Church and State of England are in the same Danger with the Trade of England; with many other dismal Suggestions, which I had rather stifle than repeat."

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I have used the statements of the well-known writers referred to simply to give the foundation of my thesis, which is, that we are making real progress toward a greater equality of opportunity. A study of contemporaneous history proves conclusively that the conditions described by Hakluyt, John Winthrop, and Sir William Petty did exist, and that they continued to exist for a long time; but finally, through the enlightened administration of law, through the enlightened consciences of the English people, conditions improved, pauperism decreased, the base of the pyramid became narrower and the vertex disappeared, and poverty came to be considered a relative term, for by poverty there is meant something different from pauperism. Pauperism is a condition of entire dependence upon charity: poverty is a condition of want, of lack, of being without something, though not necessarily a condition of complete dependence. It is the ungratified passion for higher and better environment. In a philosophical sense poverty is the lack of or the being without the things which others in a better condition financially are enabled to secure. It must, therefore, ever be relative; and, while the Almighty Father creates human beings with different degrees of intelligence and different aptitudes, relative poverty, as such, cannot be abolished. Pauperism can be abolished, or at least reduced to a minimum, and the opportunity for remunerative employment and the equipment therefor must be the means of reducing it to the desired minimum, or of its entire abolition if possible. Is this opportunity increasing? Are men enabled to avoid pauperism even if they do linger in the condition of relative poverty such as I have described? Has there been any improvement of the condition which surrounded our forebears before they left the mother-country? To determine these questions let us pass at one step from that time to the present generation.

The statistical method of study, which is the historical and the comparative method in the highest sense, enables us to arrive at some conclusions directly opposite to those resulting from observation: one is the empirical, the other the scientific method. I shall call attention to some significant facts derived from the statistics of our own country. Taking the whole number of persons engaged in all remunerative or gainful occupations, I find that in 1860 such persons constituted 26.19 per cent of the whole population. In 1870 this percentage had increased to 32.43, in 1880 to 34.68, while in 1890 it was 36.31, an increase of more than 10 per cent, relatively, in one generation,

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the period from 1860 to 1890. This, it should be borne in mind, is the percentage which the total number of persons engaged in gainful occupations is of the total population. If we examine now the percentage which this total number of persons engaged in all gainful occupations is of the persons 10 years of age and over, which is the truer comparison, we find that the increase has been as regular, but a little greater; for in 1860 it was 36.72, and in 1890, 47.95, an increase of over 11 per cent, relatively, in the thirty years named. This fact alone, it seems to me, answers conclusively and definitely the question involved in the subject we are considering. If the total number of persons engaged in gainful occupations stood still relative to the population, the argument would not be so clearly carried, but with a constant and persistent increase in the relative proportions of this class of people to the whole population, and to the whole number 10 years of age and over, there can be no other answer than an affirmative one.

It may be asked whether these percentages hold true when the number is classified, and here there are some most interesting results to be derived. The claim is often made, and truthfully, that the number of persons engaged in farming, as farmers and farm laborers, is constantly decreasing, to the impoverishment of rural districts and the enrichment, so far as numbers are concerned, of the urban population. In 1860 the number of persons employed as farmers and farm laborers constituted 10.51 per cent of the total population, while in 1890 they constituted 13.23 per cent, an increase of nearly 3 per cent; but taking the number of persons 10 years of age and over, which is the better comparison, it is found that in 1860, 14.74 per cent of this class were engaged in farming; in 1870, 20.78; in 1880, 20.55; and in 1890, 17.48,—that is to say, since 1870 there has been a constant decrease in the percentage of persons 10 years of age and over in this country engaged in farming. This corresponds with the conclusion of those who have studied this question from observation rather than by the statistical method: that the decadence, whatever there is, in the farming districts began after 1870.

If we look at the percentage of persons engaged in farming occupations relative to the number of persons engaged in all gainful occupations, we find the decadence still more marked; for in 1870, 46.92 per cent of all the persons engaged in gainful occupations were employed in farming, while in 1890 the percentage had fallen to 36.44, a decrease of more than 10 per cent. So it is true that, so far

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as farming occupations are concerned, there is a decrease of opportunity for actual industrial employment.

It might be well, if space permitted, to study the causes of this positive decrease in this direction. To my own mind it results from the fact that other occupations, mechanical and semi-professional, offer better remunerative employment; and I believe that when farming, by reason of the drain which is now going on, becomes, through the operation of positive economic law, more remunerative than at present, there will be a return to the land, not for the purpose of profitable farming, as a business, but for the purpose of securing subsistence in that most healthful and respectable calling, the tilling of the soil. This return will not be immediate or rapid, but it must come in a degree, and in a degree sufficient to offset any deleterious results which are now observable. Intensive farming and the influence of improved methods and processes of cultivating the soil and harvesting crops have had much to do with this loss in the percentage of those engaged in farming occupations; and, while these processes go on, and invention increases, there cannot be that former relative proportion employed in farming for business,—nevertheless the percentage will increase for other reasons.

Turning now to those engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, we find a reverse condition, as indicated by statistics; for in 1860 the number engaged in these lines was 5.91 per cent of the total population; in 1870, 6.36; in 1880, 6.81; and in 1890, 8.13, a constant and persistent increase of the proportion of the total population engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries. Looking at those 10 years of age and over, it is found that the increase has been from 8.28 per cent in 1860 to 10.74 per cent in 1890. So much, then, for the two great divisions of labor: farming on the one hand, and manufacturing and mechanical industries on the other.

Considering all other persons than these two classes, a most rapid increase is found. This number includes all those engaged in trade, in transportation, in domestic service, and in professional employments; and in 1860 this number constituted 9.77 per cent of the total population, while in 1890 the proportion had increased to 14.94 per cent, more than 5 per cent increase relative to the increase of population; and of persons 10 years of age and over the increase was from 13.70 in 1860 to 19.74 in 1890—that is to say, of the persons 10 years of age and over, there was an increase of more than 6 per cent relative to the increase in population.

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The percentages which I have given comprehend both sexes. Analyzing them by males and females different results might be ascertained as to each sex, but not as to the totality of persons employed. Among the females there is a larger increase in the percentage of employment in some branches than among the males. Such an analysis, however, would in no wise affect the conclusions which have been stated.

These figures prove conclusively that we are not only making real progress toward a greater opportunity, but toward a greater equality of opportunity in social and industrial life; and they completely kill all arguments made to prove that machinery—the influence of invention—displaces labor, so far as society as a whole is concerned. It would be absurd to argue for a single moment that the introduction of machinery has not in many instances displaced individuals and reduced them not only to relative poverty but to pauperism. The answer cannot well be made to the individual, but the facts cited prove that so far as the whole body of the people is concerned there is no such displacement; and a study of the expansive influence of machinery and invention by the statistical method further proves the value of the argument. The vast number of new openings, never known before, resulting from invention, offers the best proof in this direction, and it offers, too, proof that one line of opportunity will be abandoned when another of a more profitable nature opens. People talk about the loss of our commerce. I suspect they mean by this the decadence of the carrying trade of the United States. The carrying trade of the United States under American colors does not pay so well as manufacturing and mechanical industries. When it does there will be a diversion of capital from manufacturing to the carrying trade; and, when farm labor pays as well as mechanical, there will be a return of urban population to country districts.

But is there not a fallacy in the talk about the crowding of cities through the influx of people from the country, and does not the truth in this respect represent a feature of the subject under consideration? It has been clearly shown by statistics drawn from foreign and American sources that in our large cities the urban population in the so-called congested districts does not increase.[1] This is true of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, London. It is probably true of all cities of any size where conditions have become practically fixed. The

[1] See "Urban Population," by the author, "Popular Science Monthly," February, 1892.

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congested districts do not grow in population, and yet it is true that there is an immigration to the city. This immigration, however, meets with an emigration from the city to the great and growing suburban districts; and here is to be found the strength of our country. As people go out of the city to find their homes, they go out of crowded districts into healthful, sanitary locations. They come in from the country and stop at the suburb. The opportunities of life are increasing by this very movement.

Rapid transit is enabling the working-man of intelligence, of home instincts, of moral principle, to take himself and his family out of the crowded town into the delightful, healthful suburb, and he goes from his home to his work and back in the same, or in less, time that it took him to make trips between home and shop while living in the city. So rapid transit is broadening the opportunity of the working-man and adding actual time, by saving, to his leisure and to the time essential to the proper cultivation of the acquaintance of his family.

The wonderful expansion of labor through the expansion of our railroad system, the work of the telegrapher, the stenographer, the teacher, the extension of the school system,—all these avenues open opportunities to our people which did not exist half a century ago. They take the working-man out of the walks of the laborer and lift him into semi-professional employment, into that higher and broader and better line of work which his peers could not have secured in the earlier days of our own country. The artisan becomes the artist, and the artist himself, in the very highest and most æsthetic sense, finds a broader opportunity for his own profession through the very taste which has been created in people who, in point of culture, may be ranked below him. The old masters painted for the few: the new masters paint for all, and by invention they send their best productions into the dwellings of the poor. This gives not only broader opportunity, but a greater equality of opportunity, better lives, and higher culture.

By the decrease of crime, which will come largely through the practical application of the principles of the kindergarten in all lines of educational work, the opportunity will be still broader and greater and more equal. Facts prove this. In San Francisco, out of 14,000 persons who had been trained in kindergartens, there has been but one arrest for crime. Such a fact is in itself a convincing argument in the establishment of our thesis. Crime is the especial enemy of

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those in the lower walks of society. It cripples not only their opportunity but their value; it offends, it antagonizes, it demoralizes, and with its lessening there will be an increase in every direction, not only of opportunity, but in the results of opportunity.

One of the best indications of the broadening of the opportunity in life is the result of specific training. All forms of industrial education are given to the common people,—an equipment which they have before lacked. This equipment enables them to step into the higher positions which are offered on all sides by the great expansions of industry in our period. In stretching the wires of the telegraph system all over our land, in laying the rails of our transportation system, skill, intelligence, and equipment for such work must be obtained, and to obtain it the industrial educational facilities are needed. The operation, after stretching the wires of the telegraph and laying the tracks of the railroad, requires still higher skill and still better equipment, and gives in turn a remuneration which could not have been secured under former conditions.

The great increase in the number of teachers relative to the increase of population offers another positive argument in favor of the idea that I have advocated; and in the future, when the enlightenment of our people teaches the public that there are not enough instructors at present, even in the schools that are flourishing, there will come still greater opportunity for the remunerative employment of those who desire to enter it.

Great economic changes have accompanied the enlargement of opportunity, in the lessening of the hours of labor, and the constant increase in the price of labor and decrease in the price of commodities; and at the same time cost of production has decreased, and, of course, consuming power has increased.

Now, notwithstanding what has been said, I am aware that I have shown in the past by statistics that the number of persons crowding upon the opportunities that exist has been increasing. This is the temporary result of unrestricted immigration. This country has sent out an invitation to the people of all lands to come and settle here. The invitation has not only been accepted, but its acceptance has been stimulated by business enterprise, until the number coming here has been too great for perfect assimilation. The depression of the last two years has lessened the influx, but after renewed prosperity the rush will come again. As it comes to us, however, other communities are relieved; so that even if it be true that un-

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restricted immigration carries with it social inconvenience and disadvantages to our own prosperity, the conditions of all lands are being equalized. The United States, perhaps, has no mortgage on the higher civilization of the closing century. Notwithstanding this, the apparent and temporary evils of unrestricted immigration remain with us.

The world owes a man neither a living nor an opportunity to secure it, but it does owe protection in the opportunities offered, and this protection can come only through the opportunity to secure the proper equipment for the advanced employment resulting from the expansion of industry and the extension of invention. As Webster said, "There is always room at the top." What is wanted is plenty of room all along the line, so that the cleavage shall become vertical instead of horizontal. I believe that economic and industrial opportunity does really underlie every sort of opportunity, and that we are making real progress toward a greater equality of opportunity through the extension of opportunities themselves; and when this statement is supplemented by the single fact that the *per capita* wealth of the country has increased from $308 in 1850 to $1,039 in 1890, the argument needs little if any further illustration. If the *per capita* wealth remained the same, then I should subscribe willingly to the idea that social and industrial progress and poverty grow side by side, and that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer. I believe, on the contrary, that while more men have the opportunity of obtaining greater riches under present than under previous conditions, the general diffusion of wealth is represented by the great increase thereof, and that social and industrial progress and poverty grow side by side only from the relative point of view, because it is by comparison, when judging all things under higher conditions, that we become cognizant of the misery attending lower conditions. Those who are near the vertex of the pessimistic pyramid can to-day understand more perfectly than ever those who are in the lower cleavages; in fact, it is only by intelligence, only by higher civilization, that we ever recognize misery at all, and when we step out of the bad condition, when we know enough to cling to the higher, we can understand this. We then live in a light never before granted us, and the facts give us this light and lead us to the true conclusion.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

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CAN WE REVIVE THE OLYMPIC GAMES?

VISITORS to the Chicago World's Fair were impressed by the spectacle there presented of the awakened idealizing instinct of the typical commercial and industrial community of the New World, seeking expression through intelligent adaptation of the forms of Greek art and architecture. It now seems probable that those who attend the Paris exhibition of 1900 will witness a serious attempt to dignify and spiritualize modern athletics by the revival, after an interruption of 1500 years, of the Olympic games, under the auspices of an international committee of amateur athletes.

The momentary juxtaposition in fancy of the festival by the Alpheus and that by the Seine thrills the historic imagination with a keen sense of delight. But our enjoyment of the picturesqueness of the proposal is soon clouded by curious reflections on the irresistible fascination exercised by Greek forms over the imagination of modern man, and by a painful sense of the contrast between the realities of modern athletics, as we know them on "the diamond," "the ring," or the gray November football field, with the glorious scene on which the eye of Pindar's "golden charioted mid-month summer moon" looked down. Man is an idealizing animal. The gratification of his appetite palls, the development of his instinct affords no permanent satisfaction, the exercise of his active powers leaves him with a wearisome sense of futility and incompleteness, unless they are touched by some transfiguring ray of imaginative feeling, brought into significant relation with ideals of beauty, conduct, and eternal law, and linked by memory to the past and by hope and fancy to the future. He has no choice. He cannot acquiesce in the bare, literal, material fact. He must translate and etherealize it into sentiment, or its dead weight will drag him down to apathy and brutality. Here is the explanation of the permanent hold of Greece upon the spirit of modern man. The maxim of Mr. Pater's Epicurean, that the thing to care for is not the experience itself but the after-impression which it leaves in the memory, holds good for the historic life of humanity as well. And no people has ever possessed, in like measure with the

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Greeks, the power thus to transfigure the ordinary experience of mankind, to lift the common out of the region of the commonplace, and to make it live in the memory in images of abiding typical grace and charm. Young men boxed and wrestled and raced and pitched the quoit before Agamemnon, and the exuberant vitality of youth will find vent in similar sports when the New Zealander is sketching London Bridge. But only the Greeks possessed the imaginative alchemy that could transmute this base ore of experience into the pure gold of Pindaric odes and Praxitelean shapes, and so make of it a permanent possession of beauty. The Greek trainers may or may not have prescribed a more scientific regimen than our own. The Greek record for the high jump or the hundred yards' dash may be better or worse than ours. These are questions for the curious antiquarian. The significant fact is that when the race or the wrestling bout was ended and the shouts of applause had died away and the crowds of spectators dispersed, the event survived in the memory of the Greeks in the sixth Olympian ode, or in an Apoxyomenos, while for us it lives one day more in the numbers of the sporting editor and in the complacent jingling of the gate-money.

True culture, however, will not dwell by preference on these disheartening reflections nor peevishly disparage our own civilization by contrasting its less edifying aspects with the Greeks at their best. It would be more profitable to glance at the causes that lend this superior dignity and charm to Greek athletics, to appropriate as far as we may the lessons that the Greeks have to teach us, and to inquire how far we may reasonably hope, in the altered conditions of our modern cosmopolitan civilization, to revive the true Hellenic feeling in these matters.

The Greeks of the great age created and enjoyed, and left it for the most part to their successors to draw out the express moral of their practice. They were content to suggest their meanings with delicate, unobtrusive irony, as in the passage of Herodotus where Xerxes, inquiring what delays the main body of the Spartans from coming forth to do battle with him, learns that they are attending the Olympic games, and on being informed of the nature of the prize for which they contend, loudly expresses his contempt for the folly of men who are ready to undergo such hardships for a crown of wild olive. But those in whom the Hellenic spirit is an acquisition feel the need of greater explicitness. And so it happens that the completest reflective exposition we possess of the sentiment of

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thoughtful Greeks about athletes and athletic contests is found in the writings of the Syrian Lucian, the entertaining author of the Dialogues of the Dead, who lived in the second century of our era. In one of the most interesting and instructive of his imaginary conversations he brings in the Scythian globe-trotter, Anacharsis, conversing in an Athenian gymnasium with the legislator Solon. The barbarian is sorely bewildered by the spectacle before his eyes. The young men, he says, but now in terms like bride and groom were anointing each other and rubbing each other down in the most amicable fashion, and then, all at once, as if some planet had unwitted them, they fell to butting head against head in bloody opposition, crooking leg in leg, and tripping up each other's heels, driving in each other's teeth with clenched fist, or clutching their fellows by the waist, dashing them down into the mud and choking and thrusting them back till they cried for mercy. What can it all mean? If any one attempted such horse-play with a Scythian, he would soon make acquaintance with the knife in his belt.

This place, Solon replies, is the gymnasium of the Lycean Apollo. And these strange antics are the gymnastic exercises that prepare young men to win at the great pan-Hellenic games the olive crown of Olympia, the fir of the Isthmus, the parsley of Nemea, the sacred apples of Pytho. Anacharsis mocks at the paltriness of these prizes and pities the delusion of the young men who for such rewards expose themselves naked to every kind of bodily indignity in the face and eyes of assembled Greece, and the folly of the spectators who abandon their serious affairs to witness such brutal sport. But Solon assures him that if he could only be present himself at Olympia, and, sitting among the spectators, behold with his own eyes the display of stately and vigorous manly bodies in highest condition, the marvellous exhibitions of skill, the resistless strength and daring spirit of noble emulation, the invincible pluck and courage never to submit or yield, he would himself be among the foremost to shout and clap the hands. But that is only the external aspect of it. If Anacharsis cares to listen, Solon is ready to prove to him, that from those contests spring, and with that unpretending wreath are interwoven, all the best gifts for which men pray the gods,—health and strength and beauty and the tranquil enjoyment of holy days, and the freedom, prosperity, and peace of the fatherland. Anacharsis is very eager to hear Solon's defence of the peculiar institutions of Greece, but begs

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that they may first retire to some shaded spot. Not to be conspicuous by the strangeness of his garb, he has left his Thracian felt-cap at home, and the mid-day sun pouring down on his bare head is giving him a fever. He wonders that Solon can endure it at his advanced age. That, the Athenian retorts, is one of the rewards of that seemingly useless gymnastic discipline, it hardens the body to support easily variations and extremes of temperature, intolerable to the white and womanish flesh of the Asiatics. And taking this as his cue he proceeds to pronounce an encomium on systematic physical exercise, as promotive of health, strength, purity, endurance, resolution, and courage, which, with the omission of a few technical allusions, might almost be transferred word for word to the introduction of a modern treatise on athletics. The subject is much discussed in the writings of Lucian's contemporary, the physician Galen, and though the Greeks knew nothing of the chemistry of the physiological processes, the practical effects of bodily exercise they understood, perhaps, as well as we do.

These convictions of the utility of physical exercise so eloquently set forth by Lucian, the modern world, since its awakening by the teachings of Rousseau, Jahn, Arnold, Kingsley, and Ling, shares with the Greeks. Progress, both in theory and practice, has been especially rapid during the past generation since athletics have been taken up by English and American collegiate youth and athletic clubs have been formed in all the large cities of the world. The comparison which the learned and laborious Dr. Krause, the historian of the *Agonistik* and *Gymnastik* of the Greeks, instituted in 1840 between ancient and modern athletics would fall out far less unfavorably for us now. Our trainers are as skilful as those of the Greeks. We can probably break their record with everything but the long-bow. The scenes at Henley, at the Derby, at New London, at the *Grand Prix*, the 30,000 spectators who witnessed the Yale-Princeton football match, the 15,000 who turned out to see the contest between Yale and Oxford, give some earnest of the multitudes that a truly international competition undertaken with adequate means would bring together.

And there is nothing visionary in the proposition to hold such a celebration. A recent newspaper from Athens assures us that the greatest enthusiasm prevails there with regard to the project, and that the citizens of that little city have already paid in subscriptions, to defray the expenses of the first celebration in 1896, to the amount

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of about 50,000 *drachmæ*. The French commissioners will provide most liberally for the second festival to be held in Paris in the year 1900. And the athletic associations of America will not suffer themselves to be outdone when the honor falls to us in 1904. There is no question of our ability to reproduce as true a spiritual image of the old Olympic games as was shown when Nero and his sycophant court fiddled in the sacred precincts of the Altis, or when the last prize was borne off in 394 A.D. by an Armenian.

But can we, in any sense, revive the genuine thing? Baron Courbertin, to whose initiative was due the convocation of the International Committee that sat in Paris last June, says playfully, in an interesting article in the "*Revue de Paris*," that there will be no tripos, no incense, and that those who suppose that it will be upon some sacred hill and to the revived tones of the hymn of Apollo that the contest will be waged, have only their own imagination to thank for the mistake. Well, the tripods, the incense, the Greek garb and the hymn to Apollo, we can do without. The athletes, the "events," the crowds, the excitement, the applause, we can furnish. But can we recover or in any way reproduce the harmonious beauty of the *ensemble*, the banishment of the professional and commercial spirit, the idealizing influence of genuine religious and patriotic feeling, the untroubled unanimous acceptance, not merely by the multitude, but by great poets, orators, and thinkers, of the perfection of bodily grace and strength as the choicest gift of heaven? Or must we without repining recognize that this was a flower that could bloom but once in the youth of the world, that our serious ideas and interests are elsewhere, and that in this matter we are capable only of a graceful and plausible make-believe?

Let us briefly recall a few of the essential traits of that festival which, the orator Lysias says, Hercules established for the trial of bodily force, for the honorable rivalries of wealthy expenditure, and for the display of intellectual prowess in the fairest spot of Greece. Beautiful the spot still is in its modern abandonment. The sacred Alpheus, hurrying down from the ridged hills and winding dells of Arcady, glides with broader, calmer flow through a fertile valley, shut in by low, rounded hills, to the sandy levels of the coast of Elis, where, according to the pretty myth, it plunges beneath the sea and bears to the fountain of Sicilian Arethusa its bridal tribute of fair leaves and flowers and sacred dust of Hellas—an apt symbol of the bond that Olympia created between the motherland and her flourish-

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ing daughters of the west. About twelve miles from its mouth, to the west of the hill of Kronos, a projecting conical elevation that detaches itself from the environing heights, it is joined by a brawling stream. In the space bounded by the two streams and the hill nestles the sacred precinct of the Altis or Grove of Zeus, looking back up the smiling valley to the snow-crowned Arcadian peaks of Cyllene and Erymanthus. When the parching heats of summer are past, the surrounding plains are checkered with harvests of grain and fields of vines and currants, or glow with a carpet of bright-colored flowers, the purple anemone, the crocus, the iris. In ancient times a rich growth of trees, the wild olive, the stately plane tree, and perhaps the palm, covered the spot, and the resplendent polychromatic temples, the rich treasure houses, the rows of altars, the splendid dedicatory offerings, the host of marble figures of gods, heroes and athletes, glittered through groves of embowering green. The Hermes of Praxiteles, the Victory of Pæonius, the fragments from the metopes and the pediments of the temple of Zeus, the archaic Hera, the few waifs and strays that have survived the shocks of the earth-convulsing Poseidon, the greed of the Roman, the hammer of the Christian monk, the lime-kilns of the Turk, make the place still one of the world's chief sanctuaries of art. What must it have been when it yet preserved intact in their appropriate framing of natural beauty the bewildering profusion of artistic treasures enumerated by Pausanias!

Thither, once in four years, when the "heralds of the seasons, the Eleian peace-bringers of Zeus, the Son of Kronos," proclaimed the midsummer month's truce, poured in by seven converging roads the vigor, the nobility, the distinction of Greece and her colonies from the Euxine to Northern Africa—for the test of bodily force, her young athletes and the flower of her gymnasiums; for the generous rivalries of expenditure, the representatives of the splendid tyrants of Syracuse and Cyrene, dashing aristocrats like Alcibiades, aspiring to dazzle the home Democracy; grave burghers composing the Theories or sacred embassies of states ambitious to maintain their prestige in the eyes of Greece; for the displays of intellectual prowess through declamations or readings addressed to listening throngs from the steps of the Opisthodomus of the Temple of Zeus, historians like Herodotus, orators like Lysias and Gorgias, philosophers like Pythagoras and Anaxagoras and Aristippus: and with them came the thronging masses of the people, eager to witness the most splendid and various spectacle on earth, to participate in the exultant thrill of universal

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Hellenic patriotism and to forget their cantonal dissensions in the proud consciousness of their unity in the face of the barbarian in the possession of one religion, one speech, one art, and one noble ideal of symmetrically developed manhood.

The festival when it had attained its full development occupied five days. The first day was given over to preliminary ceremonies and religious rites. For it must not be forgotten that the Olympic games, like the performances in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens, wore a dignity, which no modern athletic exhibition or dramatic representation can ever possess, from the fact of their intimate association with religion. The name Olympia testifies to a prehistoric local cult of Jupiter Olympus. His great temple, the most conspicuous object in the Altis, the foundations and fragments of which, laid bare by the disinterested devotion of the Germans, enable us to restore the entire structure in imagination, contained that chryselephantine statue of Zeus, the conception of which Pheidias borrowed from Homer's sublimest lines, and which, Quintilian says, added to the majesty of the established religion. His great altar piled above its mighty elliptical basis of stone to a height of twenty-two feet, with the accumulated ashes and bones of victims, was under the charge of a noble priestly house whose lineage Pindar traced back through heroic tradition to the god Apollo. Such was its sanctity that no woman was allowed to set foot upon the hallowed ashes, and it was believed that no bird of prey ever disturbed the victims or interrupted the order of the sacrifice.

The height from which the thronging spectators looked down upon the races was sacred to Kronos. The olive that provided "a shadow for all folk in common and withal a crown for valorous deeds," had been brought by Hercules from the happy land beyond the north wind where dwelt a folk not subject to Nemesis and untouched by sickness or war. The festival opened with an imposing sacrifice to Olympian Zeus in the name of the Eleian state. The solemn oath of the competitors that they had fulfilled all the prescribed conditions and would conduct themselves honorably in the approaching trial, was taken in the Senate house of Elis before the awe-inspiring statue of Zeus Horcius, guardian of the oaths. The lots that determined the pairing and the order of entries were drawn at the altar of Zeus, the guider of destiny. And when all was ended the favor of the gods was acknowledged by magnificent thank-offerings on the part of the Eleian state, of the sacred embassies from all Greece, and of the victors and their friends. Pausanias enumerates

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no less than thirty altars at which such offerings could be made. The spectacle presented by Olympia on the closing day of the festival may well have suggested Pindar's picture of the Elysian fields reproduced by Tennyson at the close of Teiresias:

> . . . "the golden lyre
> Is ever sounding in heroic ears
> Heroic hymns, and every way the vales
> Wind, clouded with the grateful incense-fume
> Of those who mix all odour to the Gods,"

in far-shining fires on their altars. We can as easily recover the perfume of the incense from those altars two thousand years ago, as recall the sentiment that finds expression here.

On the second day the sports seem to have begun with the contests of the boys and youths in wrestling, racing, hurling the javelin, and pitching the quoit. The nearest approach to the sentiment of the day in the modern world is given by an intercollegiate match. But the absence of women at Olympia permitted a display of the naked human form, which, to a Greek, was the chief æsthetic delight of the festival and a mark of his distinction from the prudish white-skinned barbarians. And while Lamar's run or Bull's kick is a twelve hours' wonder in the newspaper, and then lives only in the records of the college book of sports, the prowess of a young Diagorid or Timinid might be celebrated in an ode of Pindar or Simonides that would be carved on letters of gold on the temples of his native city, chanted to lordly music with each recurring celebration of the glorious day, and not only admit his name "to the glad fellowship of young boys' themes of song" in Hellas, but cause it to be conned after two thousand years by youths in unknown continents beyond those pillars of Hercules which Pindar warned him not to pass, and farther west than those islands of the blest, blown on by ocean breezes "where Peleus and Cadmus are and where Achilles' mother bare her son."

On the third and fourth days occurred the equestrian contests in which princes from Sicily and Africa were proud to compete, and the wrestling, boxing, and racing of the men. The Olympiad took its name from the victor in the *pancratium*, a combination of boxing and wrestling, which, in the descriptions we have of it, resembles too nearly the French *savate* or a free fight to please an English sportsman. More pleasing was the *pentathlon*, a combination of leaping, racing, pitching the quoit, hurling the javelin, and wrestling. Mr. Mahaffy has put some of these exercises in a ridiculous light by

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skilful juxtaposition of the notices of Greek scholiasts and the comments of German professors. But when we look at the Discobolos, the Hermes or the Apoxyomenos, we may be confident that men who knew how to develop such bodies knew also how to make the best use of them.

On the fifth day came the celebration of the triumph of the victors, the splendid thank-offerings to the gods, the procession of the theories or sacred embassies of the various Greek states and colonies, the great banquet to the victors, the chanting of the hymns in the case of those who were fortunate enough to have a Pindar or Simonides or Euripides in their train,—above all the coronation of the victor and the proclamation of his name, his father, and city in the ears of assembled Greece. A child, both of whose parents were living, cut with a golden knife the twigs from a wild olive tree behind the temple of Zeus, designated for the purpose by the Delphic oracle. These were twined into light wreaths and placed on a chryselephantine salver, decorated by a pupil of Pheidias. Around the victor's head was placed a fillet of wool, and then "the just judge of games, the Aitolian man fulfilling Heracles' behests of old, laid upon his hair, above his brows, pale-gleaming glory of olive." This is that crown of wild olive, the seeming-slight recompense of all that toil and endurance which the barbarians could not understand, of which Herodotus and Lucian speak with conscious Hellenic pride. "No proud one," says Ruskin, "no jewelled circlet flaming through heaven—only some few leaves of wild olive, cool to the tired brow—type of gray honor and sweet rest."

And here lies the chief, if somewhat obvious, lesson that our modern athletes have to learn from Olympia, if they would not remain barbarians in spirit, amid all the external paraphernalia of Hellenic revival. They must strive, like the young heroes of Pindar, only for the complete development of their manhood, and their sole prizes must be the conscious delight in the exercise of perfectly trained powers and some simple symbol of honor. They must not prostitute the vigor of their youth for gold, directly or indirectly, through division of gate-receipts, acceptance of costly prizes, or coining into money the notoriety that the newspaper press and the telegraph instantly lend to every form of ephemeral pre-eminence. It is not merely that the commercial spirit destroys all the ideal associations that transfigure the bare physical facts of the contests, that it "hardens a' within and petrifies the feeling"—it is fatal, as the Greeks learned in their degenerate days, to the very objects for which gymnasiums and ath-

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letic contests are instituted—the harmonious development of the body to be the apt servant of the mind in all the offices of life. Where money is the stake men will inevitably tend to rate the end above the means, or rather to misconceive the true end. Drugs will be administered to induce sleep after heavy repasts or over-training, the professional will usurp the place of the amateur, and highly specialized time-absorbing forms of training, leading to monstrous and abnormal development of body and sluggishness of mind, will be substituted for the free and healthy play of the faculties in leisure hours.

Such was the experience of Greece after the brief bloom immortalized by Pindar had passed away. The noble scions of the victors, as Pindar says, "loved fair and honorable things, by the grace of God, and strove only for the attainable in the days of their youth"; so maturing the powers that fitted them to serve the state in council and in war. But their place at Olympia was gradually usurped by the professional "strong man," the "heavy weight," whose life was passed, as Galen says, "in eating, drinking, sleeping, and their accompaniments, and in wallowing in the dust and mud," who won his victories by breaking the fingers of his antagonist or otherwise disabling him, and whose admirers eagerly recounted the number of pounds of raw flesh he could devour, the whipcords he could break by knotting the veins in his brow, the oxen he could lift, the chariots he could stay in full career—the type of man, in short, whose repulsive, lethargic features are preserved for us in the late Roman statues of athletes. And so in place of Pindar's ideal strains, of Homer's saying that there is no greater glory for a man than strength of hand and foot, or Solon's declaration that strength is the sign and symbol of manly virtue, we hear from Plato to Galen an ever louder chorus of disparagement and contempt for the mere athlete who cultivates brute strength at the expense of all higher qualities.

But let us assume that we have successfully banished the commercial and professional spirit, and let us consent to forget the superior æsthetic grace and charm, the higher religious and moral dignity that invest the Greek festival, there is another consideration that makes it impossible for us ever to take athletics and athletic exhibitions as seriously as they were regarded by the Greeks. The modern man is aware of the physiological incompatibility of the athletic habit, not perhaps with the soundest and happiest intellectual life, but certainly with the incessant, feverish, nervous activity imposed by the conditions of the modern world. This opposition of mind and body

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had not wholly escaped the ancients, as recorded sayings of Xenophanes, Plato, and Euripides testify. But the conditions of ancient life made these considerations of far less moment to the Greeks than to us. Their best men manifested on occasions the very highest intellectual powers in literature, oratory, art, and the conduct of affairs. But the Greeks knew nothing of the pitiless, unrelenting drain on the nervous forces, which the mere running of the complicated machinery of modern civilization inflicts upon us. "I know what you have learned," says Socrates to Alcibiades. "You have learned letters and how to play the lyre"; and this equipment sufficed. The modern scholar must toil for ten years in his library or laboratory to acquire the preliminary knowledge and master the tools that will enable him to begin to manifest his powers in productive work. To be ready for his opportunity when it comes, the statesman or captain of industry must slave at his desk eight hours a day, and hold clearly in mind all the tangled threads of vast and complicated transactions.

At this price are won the prizes of modern life, and the men whose hearts are set upon them will not consent even in youth to loiter whole days in the gymnasium like Socrates or Critias or Alcibiades. At the most they will hurry around to the athletic club, after a laborious day in a close office, and rush through a half-hour of perfunctory exercise in order to get up an appetite for dinner. Whatever such a man may say about the value of physical training, an instinct warns him that he cannot atone for his excessive consumption of nervous energy by burning the candle at the other end. He knows that he cannot afford to support a biceps. And there is an element of the same unreality in the interest that leads society to make a social function of the foot-ball match, or takes the tired business man to a base-ball game that he may compel himself to spend an afternoon in the air.

The only classes in the modern world whose interest in athletics is wholly genuine and unfeigned are professionals, idle young amateurs of wealth, a few educators, and the least studious among our college youths. The rest of the world is very ready to be amused by their performances, and loudly vociferates its approval of the gospel of physical culture, but the real leaders of life and thought can never again contemplate an athletic contest with the emotions of men who, like the poets, philosophers, and statesmen of Greece, spent the best days of their youth in the gymnasium and often made it the principal centre of their social and intellectual life in maturer years.

PAUL SHOREY.

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ANTHONY TROLLOPE'S PLACE IN LITERATURE.[1]

SOME of our younger friends who read the title of this essay may incline to think that it ought to be very short indeed, nay, limited to a single word; and, like the famous chapter on the snakes in Ireland, it should simply run—that Anthony Trollope has no place at all in literature. We did not think so in England in the fifties, the sixties, and the seventies, in the heyday of Victorian romance; and I do not think we ought to pass that judgment now in this last quinquennium of our century. I shall have to put our friend Anthony in a very moderate and prosaic rank; I shall not conceal my sense of his modest claims and conspicuous faults, of his prolixity, his limited sphere, his commonplace. But in view of the enormous popularity he once enjoyed, of the space he filled for a whole generation, I cannot altogether omit him from these studies of the Victorian writers.

I have, too, a personal reason for including him in the series. I knew him well, knew his subjects, and his stage. I have seen him at work at the "Megatherium Club," chatted with him at the "Universe," dined with him at George Eliot's, and even met him in the hunting-field. I was familiar with the political personages and crises which he describes; and much of the local colouring in which his romances were framed was for years the local colouring that I daily saw around me. The famous writers of whom I have been speaking in this series (with the exception of Charlotte Brontë) I have often seen and heard speak in public and in private, but I cannot be said to have known them as friends. Anthony Trollope I knew well, I knew the world in which he lived, I saw the scenes, the characters, the life he paints, day by day in the same clubs, in the same rooms, and under the same conditions as he saw them. To re-read some of his best stories, as I have just done, is to me like looking through a photographic album of my acquaintances, companions, and familiar reminiscences of some thirty years ago. I can hear the loud voice, the honest laugh, the keen eyes of our old friend as I turn to the admirable vignette portrait in his posthumous "Autobiography."

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I wonder if the present generation knows that frank and amusing book—one of the most brisk and manly autobiographies in our language. Of course it is garrulous, egoistical, self-complacent in a way. When a famous writer, at the close of a long career of varied activity, takes up his pen to tell us how he has lived, and how his books were written, and what he has loved, seen, suffered, and striven for—it is his business to be garrulous; we want him to talk about himself, and to give us such peeps into his own heart and brain as he chooses to unlock. That is what an "autobiography" means. And never did man do this in a more hearty, manly, good-tempered spirit, with more good sense, with more modest *bonhomie*, with a more genial egoism. He has been an enormous worker; he is proud of his industry. He has fought his way under cruel hardships to wealth and fame: and he is well satisfied with his success. He has had millions of readers; he has been well paid; he has had good friends; he has enjoyed life. He is happy in telling us how he did it. He does not over-rate himself. He believes some of his work is good: at least it is honest, pure, sound work which has pleased millions of readers. Much of his work he knows to be poor stuff, and he says so at once. He makes no pretence to genius; he does not claim to be a hero; he has no rare qualities—or none but industry and courage—and he has met with no peculiar sufferings and no unjust rebuffs. He has his own ideas about literary work—you may think them commonplace, mechanical, mercenary ideas—but that is a true picture of Anthony Trollope; of his strong, manly, pure mind, of his clear head, of his average moral sense: a good fellow, a warm friend, a brave soul, a genial companion.

With all his artless self-complacency in his own success, Trollope took a very modest estimate of his own powers. I remember a characteristic discussion about their modes of writing between Trollope and George Eliot at a little dinner party in her house. "Why!" said Anthony, "I sit down every morning at 5.30 with my watch on my desk, and for three hours I regularly produce 250 words every quarter of an hour." George Eliot positively quivered with horror at the thought—she who could write only when she felt in the vein, who wrote, re-wrote, and destroyed her manuscript two or three times, and as often as not sat at her table without writing at all. "There are days and days together," she groaned out, "when I cannot write a line." "Yes!" said Trollope, "with imaginative work like yours that is quite natural; but with my mechanical stuff

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it's a sheer matter of industry. It's not the head that does it—it's the cobbler's wax on the seat and the sticking to my chair!" In his "Autobiography" he has elaborately explained this process—how he wrote day by day, including Sundays, whatever his duties, his amusements, or the place; measuring out every page, counting the words, and exacting the given quantity hour by hour. He wrote continuously 2,500 words in each day, and at times more than 25,000 words in a week. He wrote whilst engaged in severe professional drudgery, whilst hunting thrice a week, and in the whirl of London society. He wrote in railway trains, on a sea voyage, and in a town club room. Whether he was on a journey, or pressed with office reports, or visiting friends, he wrote just the same. "Dr. Thorne" was written whilst he was very sea-sick in a gale at sea, or was negotiating a treaty with Nubar Pasha; and the day after finishing "Dr. Thorne" he began "The Bertrams." It is one of the most amazing, and one of the most comical, records of literary activity we have. No one can suppose that work of a very high class can be so produced at all. Nor does Trollope pretend that it is of a high class. He says it is honest work, the best he could do.

He takes a strange pleasure in recounting these feats of literary productiveness. He poses as the champion of the age in quantity and rapidity. This lightning novelist could produce a volume in two or three weeks; and he easily turned out three novels of three volumes each in a year. He gives us an exact list of sixty works produced in about thirty-five years, and a total of about £70,000 as the earnings of some twenty-four years. He insists that he never neglected his Post-Office work, but was an invaluable and energetic public servant; he insists that, much as he enjoyed his literary profits, he was never misled by the desire of money; and he insists that he could have done no better work if he had written much less, or if he had given more time to each book. In all this he does not convince us. He certainly showed transcendent force of will, of nerve, and of endurance. "It's dogged as does it!" says Giles Hoggett to Mr. Crawley, in "The Last Chronicle of Barset"; and if "dogged" could make a great novelist, Anthony Trollope was pre-eminently "dogged." But a great novelist needs other gifts. And to tell us that he would not have done better work if his whole life had been given to his work, if every book, every chapter of every book, were the fruit of ample meditation and repeated revision, if he had never written with any thought of profit, never written but what

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he could not contain hidden within him—this is to tell us palpable nonsense.

Trollope's sixty works no doubt exceed the product of any Englishman of our age; but they fall short of the product of Dumas, George Sand, and Scribe. And, though but a small part of the sixty works can be called good, the inferior work is not discreditable: it is free from affectation, extravagance, nastiness, or balderdash. It never sinks into such tawdry stuff as Bulwer, Disraeli, and even Dickens, could indite in their worst moods. Trollope is never bombastic, or sensational, or prurient, or grotesque. Even at his worst, he writes pure, bright, graceful English; he tells us about wholesome men and women in a manly tone, and if he becomes dull, he is neither ridiculous nor odious. He is very often dull: or rather utterly commonplace. It is the fashion with the present generation to assert that he is never anything but commonplace; but this is the judgment of a perverted taste. His besetting danger is certainly the commonplace. It is true that he is almost never dramatic, or powerful, or original. His plots are of obvious and simple construction; his characters are neither new, nor subtle, nor powerful; and his field is strictly limited to special aspects of the higher English society in town and country. But in his very best work, he has risen above commonplace and has painted certain types of English men and women with a really exquisite grace and consummate truth.

One of Trollope's strong points and one source of his popularity was a style almost perfect for his own limited purpose. It is limpid, flexible, and melodious. It never rises into eloquence, poetry, or power; but it is always easy, clear, simple, and vigorous. Trollope was not capable of the sustained mastery over style in "Esmond," nor had he the wit, passion, and pathos at Thackeray's command. But of all contemporaries he comes nearest to Thackeray in easy conversations and in quiet narration of incidents and motives. Sometimes, but very rarely, Trollope is vulgar—for good old Anthony had a coarse vein—it was in the family:—but as a rule his language is conspicuous for its ease, simplicity, and unity of tone. This was one good result of his enormous rapidity of execution. His books read from cover to cover, as if they were spoken in one sitting by an *improvisatore* in one and the same mood, who never hesitated an instant for a word, and who never failed to seize the word he wanted. This ease and mastery over speech was the fruit of prodigious practice and industry both in office work and in literary work. It is a mastery

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which conceals itself, and appears to the reader the easiest thing in the world. How few of these millions have studied that subtle mechanism of ear and thought which created the melodious ripple of these fluent and pellucid words.

His work has one special quality that has not been sufficiently noticed. It has the most wonderful unity of texture and a perfect harmony of tone. From the first line to the last, there is never a sentence or a passage which strikes a discordant note; we are never worried by a spasmodic phrase, nor bored by fine writing that fails to "come off." Nor is there ever a paragraph which we need to read over again, or a phrase that looks obscure, artificial, or enigmatic. This can hardly be said of any other novelist of this century, except of Jane Austen, for even Thackeray himself is now and then artificial in "Esmond," and the vulgarity of "Yellowplush" at last becomes fatiguing. Now Trollope reproduces for us that simplicity, unity, and ease of Jane Austen, whose facile grace flows on like the sprightly talk of a charming woman, mistress of herself and sure of her hearers. This uniform ease, of course, goes with the absence of all the greatest qualities of style; absence of any passion, poetry, mystery, or subtlety. He never rises, it is true, to the level of the great masters of language. But, for the ordinary incidents of life amongst well-bred and well-to-do men and women of the world, the form of Trollope's tales is almost as well adapted as the form of Jane Austen.

In absolute realism of spoken words Trollope has hardly any equal. His characters utter quite literally the same words, and no more, that such persons utter in actual life. The characters, it is true, are the average men and women we meet in the educated world, and the situations, motives, and feelings described are seldom above or below the ordinary incidents of modern life. But within this very limited range of incident, and for this very common average of person and character, the conversations are photographic or stenographic reproductions of actual speech. His letters, especially his young ladies' letters, are singularly real, life-like, and characteristic. We have long got rid of the artificial eloquence and the studied witticisms of the older school. Richardson, Fielding, Goldsmith, and Scott put into the mouths of their heroes and heroines elaborate speeches, poetry, eloquence, and epigrams which are no more like real speech than the allocutions of kings and queens in Shakespeare are like natural talk. That has long been discarded. Jane Austen and

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Thackeray make their men and women discourse as men and women do. But perhaps with Thackeray, the talk is too racy, too brilliant, too rich with wit, humour, and character, to be quite literally truthful. Now, Trollope, taking a far lower and simpler line, makes his characters talk with literal truth to nature.

This photographic realism of conversation is common enough now: but it has too often the defects of photography; it is bleared, coarse, and ill-favoured. As we all know, in the new realism a young woman and her lover talk thus: "Old gal! why so glum?" said he—"It's my luck!" says she, and flings her straw hat on the floor. That is the new photographic style, but it does not please us of an older generation. Now Trollope makes his people utter such phrases as the characters he presents to us actually use in real life—or rather such phrases as they did use thirty years ago. And yet, although he hardly ever rises into eloquence, wit, brilliancy, or sinks into any form of talk either unnaturally tall, or unnaturally low,—still, the conversations are just sufficiently pointed, humorous, or characteristic, to amuse the reader and develop the speaker's character. Trollope in this exactly hits the happy mean. Like Mr. Woodhouse's gruel, his conversations are "thin—but not so very thin." He never attempts grandiloquence; but then he never sinks into the fashionable bathos of—"Sugar in your tea, dear?"—"Another lump, if you please."—nor does he fall into the fashionable realism of—"Dry up, old man!" No! Trollope's characters speak with literal nature; and yet with enough of point, humour, vigour to make it pleasant reading.

We may at once confess to his faults and limitations. They are plain enough, constant, and quite incapable of defence. Out of his sixty works, I should be sorry to pick more than ten as being worth a second reading, or twenty which are worth a first reading. It is a serious crime to have published some forty books which an admirer has to confess to be nearly worthless. Nor amongst the good books could I count any of the last ten years. The range of characters is limited to the clergy and professional men of a cathedral city, to the county families and the respectabilities of a quiet village, to the life of clubs, public offices, and Parliament in London, and to the ways of "society" as it existed in England in the third quarter of the present century. The plots are neither new nor ingenious; the incidents are rarely more than commonplace; the characters are seldom very powerful, or original, or complex. There are very few

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"psychologic problems," very few dramatic situations, very few revelations of a new world and unfamiliar natures. There are some natural scenes in Ireland; now and then a cook-maid, a farmer, a labourer, or a clerk, come on the stage and play their short parts with faultless demeanour. But otherwise, the entire company appear in the frock-coats and crinolines of the period, and every scene is played in silk hats, bonnets, and regulation evening toilette.

But within this limited range of life, this uniformity of "genteel comedy," Trollope has not seldom given us pieces of inimitable truthfulness and curious delicacy of observation. The dignitaries of the cathedral close, the sporting squires, the county magnates, the country doctors, and the rectory home, are drawn with a precision, a refinement, an absolute fidelity that only Jane Austen could compass. There is no caricature, no burlesque, nothing improbable or overwrought. The bishop, the dean, the warden, the curate, the apothecary, the duke, the master of fox-hounds, the bishop's wife, the archdeacon's lady, the vicar's daughter, the governess, the undergraduate—all are perfectly true to nature. So, too, are the men in the clubs in London, the chiefs, subordinates, and clerks in the public offices, the ministers and members of Parliament, the leaders and rank and file of London "society." They never utter a sentence which is not exactly what such men and women do utter; they do and they think nothing but what such men and women think and do in real life. Their habits, conversation, dress, and interests are photographically accurate, to the point of illusion. It is not high art—but it is art. The field is a narrow one; the actors are ordinary. But the skill, grace, and humour with the scene are caught, and the absolute illusion of truthfulness redeems it from the commonplace.

The stage of Trollope's drama is not a wide one, but it is far wider than that of Jane Austen. His plots and incidents are sufficiently trite and ordinary, but they are dramatic and original, if contrasted with those of "Emma" or "Mansfield Park." No one will compare little Jane's delicate palfrey with Anthony's big-boned hunter; but a narrow stage and familiar incidents are not necessarily fatal to true art. If Trollope had done nothing more than paint ordinary English society with photographic accuracy of detail, it would not be a great performance. But he has done more than this. In the Barsetshire series, at any rate, he has risen to a point of drawing characters with a very subtle insight and delicate intuition. The warden, the bishop, Mrs. Proudie, Dr. Thorne, Mary Thorne, Lily

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Dale, Lady Arabella, and above all Mr. Crawley are characters definitely conceived, profoundly mastered, and truly portrayed. Trollope evidently judged Crawley to be his greatest creation and the "Last Chronicle of Barset" to be his principal achievement. In this he was doubtless right. There are real characters also in the two "Phineas Finn" tales. Chiltern, Finn, Glencora Palliser, Laura Kennedy, and Marie Goesler are subtly conceived and truly worked out. This is enough to make a decent reputation, however flat be the interminable pot-boilers that precede and follow them.

The list of Trollope's real successes is not very long. The six tales of the Barsetshire cycle, "The Warden"—"Barchester Towers"—"Doctor Thorne,"—"Framley Parsonage"—"The Small House at Allington"—"The Last Chronicle of Barset"—are unquestionably his main achievements; and of these either "Doctor Thorne" or "The Last Chronicle" is the best. The Crawley story is undoubtedly the finest thing Trollope ever did; but for myself, I enjoy the unity, completeness, and masterly scheme of "Doctor Thorne," and I like Mary Thorne better than any of Trollope's women. If, to the six Barset tales, we add "Orley Farm," "The Claverings," the two "Phineas Finns," and the "Eustace Diamonds," we shall include, perhaps, more than posterity will ever trouble itself about, and almost exactly one-fifth of the novels he left behind. The ten or twelve of Trollope's best will continue to be read, and will in a future generation regain not a little of their early vogue. This will be due, in part, to their own inherent merit as graceful, truthful, subtle observation of contemporary types, clothed in a style of transparent ease. Partly, it will be due to this: that these tales will reproduce for the future certain phases of life in the nineteenth century in England with minute fidelity and the most literal realism.

This is no doubt the cause of the revulsion of opinion by which in some English circles Trollope has suffered of late. If there are fashions, habits, and tastes which the rising generation is certain to despise, it is what were current in the youth of their own parents about thirty or forty years before them. The collars, the bonnets, the furniture, the etiquette, the books of that age always seem to the young to be the last word of all that is awkward and "bad form," although in two or three generations these very modes regain a certain quaint charm. And for the moment poor Anthony represents to the emancipated youth of our time all that was "banal" and prosy some thirty years ago. The taste of our youth sets hard for a new

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heaven, or at least a new earth, and if not that, it may be a new hell. Novels or poems without conundrums, without psychologic problems, with no sexual theorems to solve, with no unique idiosyncrasies to fathom, without anything unnatural, or sickening, without hospital nastinesses,—are all, we are assured, unworthy the notice of the youth of either sex who are really up to date. In the style of the new pornographic and clinical school of art, the sayings and doings of wholesome men and women who live in drawing-rooms and regularly dress before dinner are "beastly rot," and fit for no one but children and old maids.

But we conservatives of an older school are grateful to Anthony that he produces for the last generation an immense collection of pleasant tales without a single foul spot or unclean incident. It was his boast that he had never written a line which a pure woman could not read without a blush. This is no doubt one of the grounds on which he is so often denounced as *passé*. His tales, of course, are full of love, and the love is not always discreet or virtuous. There are cases of guilty love, of mad love, of ungoverned and unreasoning passion. But there is not an impure or prurient passage in the whole library of tales. Much more than this: in the centre of almost every tale, we are taken to the heart of a spotless, loving, refined, brave English girl. In nothing does Anthony Trollope delight more than when he unveils to us the secret thoughts of a noble-hearted maiden who loves strongly but who has a spirit as strong as her love, a clear brain and a pure will. In nothing is he more successful; nowhere is he more subtle, more true, more interesting. In this fine gift, he surpasses all his contemporaries, and almost all other English novelists. Mary Thorne, Lily Dale, Lucy Roberts—I almost wish to add, Martha Dunstable—may not be heroines of romance, and are certainly not great creations. But they are pure, right-minded, delicate, brave women; and it does one good to be admitted to the sacred confessional of their hearts.

It must be admitted that they are "young ladies," nurtured in the conventional refinement of the last generation, high-bred, and trained in the jealous sensitiveness of what was thought to be "maiden modesty" thirty or forty years ago. That is their misfortune to-day; it is now rather silly to be a "young lady" at all, and the old-fashioned "maiden modesty" of their mothers and grandmothers is become positively ridiculous. Young women of the present date have to be either "jolly girls" or "crocks"; and Mary Thorne and

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Lily Dale are certainly not "jolly girls." Their trials and agonies are not different from those which may happen in any ordinary family, and the problems they have to solve are those which may await any girl at any time. But the subtle touches with which we are admitted to their meditations, the delicate weighing of competing counsels and motives, the living pulses of heart and brain, and the essential soundness and reality of the mental and moral crisis—are all told with an art that may be beneath that of Jane Austen, but which certainly is akin to hers, and has the same quality of pure and simple human nature. Pure and simple human nature is, for the moment, out of fashion. But it remains a curious problem how the boisterous, brawny, thick-skinned lump of manhood whom we knew as Anthony Trollope ever came to conceive so many delicate and sensitive country maidens, and to see so deeply and so truly into the heart of their maiden meditations.

Trollope is equally successful with some other social problems and characters of unstable equilibrium. They are none of them very profound or exalted studies in psychology; but they are truthful, natural, and ingenious; and it needed a sure and delicate hand to make them interesting and life-like. The feeble, solemn, timid, vacillating bishop, driven to distraction by some clerical scandal in his tea-cup of a diocese; the pompous ecclesiastic with wounded dignity and family quarrels; the over-sensitive priest whose conscience is more acute than his brain; the weak, generous, cowardly owner of an embarrassed estate; the honest and impulsive youth placed between love and duty; the loving girl who will not sacrifice dignity to love; the public official who is torn between conscience and self-interest; the man in a great position who does not know his own mind; the man with honest principles who is tempted above his strength by love, ambition, or ruin—all of these live in the pages of Trollope with perfect truth to nature and reality of movement. It would be too much to say that any of them are masterly creations, unless it be Crawley and the Proudies, but they are absolutely truthful, real, living portraits. The situations are not very striking, but then they are perfectly natural. And the characters never say or do a thing which oversteps by a hair's-breadth the probable and natural conduct of such persons.

All this is now said to be commonplace, goody-goody, and Philistine. There are no female acrobats, burglars, gutter-urchins, crapulous prostitutes, no pathological anatomy of diseased bodies and carious

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souls, hardly a single case of adultery in all Trollope. But they who can exist without these stimulants may find pleasant reading yet in his best work. "The Last Chronicle of Barset" is a really good tale which deserves to live, and the whole Crawley episode rises to the level of fine imaginative work. "Doctor Thorne" is a sound, pleasant, ingenious story from beginning to end. It has perhaps the best plot of all Trollope's books, and, singularly enough, it is the only plot which he admits not to be his own. I count Mary Thorne as his best woman and Doctor Thorne as one of his best men. The unity of "Doctor Thorne" is very striking and ingenious. The stage is crowded: there are nearly a score of well-marked characters and five distinct households; but the whole series works into the same plot; the scene is constantly varied, and yet there is no double plot or separate companies. Thus, though the whole story revolves round the fortunes of a single family, the interest and the movement never flag for a page. The machinery is very simple; the characters are of average strength and merit; the incidents and issues are ordinary enough. And the general effect is wholesome, manly, womanly, refined, and true to nature.

The episcopal and capitular group of ecclesiastics round the Cathedral of Barchester is Trollope's main creation, and is destined to endure for some time. It is all in its way inimitably true and subtly graduated from bishop to dean, from dean to canon, and so on through the whole chapter down to the verger and the porter. The relations of these dignitaries to each other, the relation of their womankind to each other, the relation of the clerical world to the town world and to the county world, their conventional etiquette, their jealousies, their feuds, their scandals, and their entertainments, are all marked with admirable truth and a refined touch. The relations of the village respectabilities to the county families, the relations of the county families to the great ducal magnate, are all given with curious precision and subtle discrimination. I happened, when "The Warden" appeared just forty years ago, to be a pupil in the chambers of the late Sir Henry Maine, then a famous critic of the "Saturday Review"; and I well remember his interest and delight in welcoming a new writer, from whom he thought so much might be expected. The relations of London "Society" to the parliamentary and ministerial world in the later books are all treated with entire mastery. It is this thorough knowledge of the organism of English society which specially distinguishes Trollope. It is a quality in which Thackeray

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alone is his equal; and Thackeray himself has drawn no complex social organism with such consummate completeness as Trollope's Barchester Close. It is of course purely English, locally true to England only. But it is, as Nathaniel Hawthorne said, "solid and substantial," "as real as if it were a great lump out of the earth"—"just as English as a beefsteak."

What makes all this so strange is that Trollope had far less experience than have most cultivated men of cathedral closes, rectories, and county families. He had never been to a college, and till past middle life he never had access to the higher grades of English society. He never at any time, and certainly not when the Barchester cycle began, had any footing whatever in clerical circles, and but little personal acquaintance with young ladies of birth and refinement in country homes. He never was thrown with the young bloods of the army, or the universities, or of Parliament. He rarely consorted with dukes or county magnates, and he never lived in the centre of the political world. Yet this rough, self-taught, busy Post-Office surveyor in Ireland, perpetually travelling about the country on the inspections of his duty, managed to see to the very marrow of the prelates of a cathedral, to the inner histories of the duke's castle and the squire's home, into the secret musings of the rector's daughter, and into the tangled web of Parliamentary intrigue. He did all this with a perfectly sure and subtle touch, which was often, it is true, somewhat tame, and is never perhaps of any very great brilliance, but which was almost faultlessly true, never extravagant, never unreal. And, to add to the wonder, you might meet him for an hour; and, however much you might like his bluff, hearty, resonant personality, you would have said he was the last man to have any delicate sympathy with bishops, dukes, or young ladies.

His insight into Parliamentary life was surprisingly accurate and deep. He had not the genius of Disraeli, but his pictures are utterly free from caricature or distortion of any kind. In his photographic portraiture of the British Parliament he surpassed all his contemporaries; and inasmuch as such studies can only have a local and sectional interest, they have probably injured his popularity and his art. His conduct of legal intricacies and the ways of lawyers is singularly correct; and the long and elaborate trial scene in "Phineas Redux" is a masterpiece of natural and faithful descriptions of an Old Bailey criminal trial in which "society" happens to be involved. Yet of courts of law, as of bishops' palaces, rectory firesides, the lobbies of

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Parliament, and ducal "house parties," Trollope could have known nothing except as an outside observer. The life of London clubs, the habits and *personnel* of a public office, the hunting-field, and the social hierarchy and ten commandants observed in a country town—these things Trollope knew to the minutest shade, and he has described them with wonderful truth and zest.

There was a truly pathetic drollery in his violent passion for certain enjoyments—hunting, whist, and the smoking-room of his club. I cannot forget the comical rage which he felt at Professor Freeman's attack on fox-hunting. I am not a sporting man myself; and, though I may look on fox-hunting as one of the more venial forms of the "sporting" mania, I know nothing about it. But it chanced that as a young man I had been charged with the duty of escorting a certain young lady to a "meet" of fox-hounds in Essex. What happened I hardly remember; but, in the middle of a hot burst, I found myself alongside of Anthony Trollope, who was shouting and roaring out "What!—what are you doing here?" And he was never tired of holding me up to the scorn of the "Universe" club as a deserter from the principles of Professor Freeman and John Morley. I had taken no part in the controversy, but it gave him huge delight to have detected such backsliding in one of the school he detested. Like other sporting men who imagine that their love of "sport" is a love of nature, when it is merely a pleasure in physical exercise, Trollope cared little for the poetic aspect of nature. His books, like Thackeray's, hardly contain a single fine picture of the country, of the sea, of mountains, or of rivers. Compared with Fielding, Scott, Charlotte Brontë, Dickens, George Eliot, he is a man blind to the loveliness of nature. To him, as to other fox-hunters, the country was good or bad as it promised or did not promise a good "run." Though Trollope was a great traveller, he rarely uses his experiences in a novel, whereas Scott, Thackeray, Dickens, Bulwer, George Eliot fill their pages with foreign adventures and scenes of travel. His hard riding as an overgrown heavy-weight, his systematic whist playing, his loud talk, his burly ubiquity and irrepressible energy in everything—formed one of the marvels of the last generation. And that such a colossus of blood and bone should spend his mornings, before we were out of bed, in analyzing the hypersensitive conscience of an archdeacon, the secret confidences whispered between a prudent mamma and a love-lorn young lady, or the subtle meanderings of Marie Goesler's heart—this was a real psychologic problem.

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There can be no doubt that this constitutional vehemence of his, this hypertrophy of blood and muscle, injured his work and dimmed his reputation. Four-fifths of his work he ought to have burnt. His classical studies are worthless, his "Life of Thackeray" and his "Travels" are mere book-making. His novels, even the best, are revised and printed with scandalous haste. He speaks of a "*toga virile*" and of "the *husband* of his bosom," for *wife;* and there are misprints in every paragraph. When, in his "Autobiography," he let the public into the story of his method, of his mechanical writing so many words per hour, of his beginning a new tale the day after he finished the last, of his having no particular plot, and hardly thinking about a plot, and all the little trade secrets of his factory, the public felt some disgust and was almost inclined to think it had been cheated out of its £70,000.

Anthony Trollope was not a fraud, nor even a mere tradesman. His reputation may perhaps partially revive, and some of his best work may be read in the next century. His best work will of course be a mere residuum of his sixty books, as is the best of nearly all prolific writers. I am inclined to think the permanent survival may be limited to the "Barchester" cycle, with "Orley Farm" and the two "Phineas Finns." In any case, his books will hereafter bear a certain historical interest, as the best record of actual manners in the higher English society between 1855 and 1875. That value nothing can take away, however dull, *connu*, and out of date the books may now seem to our new youth. It is a curious problem why our new youth persists in filling its stomach with the poorest trash that is "new"—*i.e.*, published in 1895, whilst it will not look at a book that is "old"—*i.e.*, published in 1865, though both are equally unknown to the young reader. If our new youth ever could bring itself to take up a book having 1865 on its title-page, it might find in the best of Anthony Trollope much subtle observation, many manly and womanly natures, unfailing purity of tone, and much wholesome enjoyment.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

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THE GOVERNMENT AS A GREAT PUBLISHER.

AMONG the various and complex organizations of the National Government, that charged with the national printing and publishing is one of the most important. Involving, as it does, an annual expenditure of about four millions of dollars, the fruits of its large typographical output and the manner of its distribution become matters of wide public interest. The prodigious variety of publications emanating from the government presses at Washington affords in itself a noteworthy and singular object of study. From the ravages of the *curculio* to the great railway strikes of 1894, from a history of education in Japan to a catalogue of women inventors to whom patents have been issued since 1789, from a report of the most recent method of hatching fish-eggs to the net results of the Greely Arctic expedition of 1881, from a bibliography of meteorology to an account of the navies of the world, from the geographic distribution of American birds to a three-volume digest of international law, from a half-page report on a widow's pension to a hundred-volume library of the official records of the Union and Confederate armies in the war of the rebellion,—these and hundreds more of equally miscellaneous documents exhibit the surprising range of the productions of the government press.

That its activity and volume are fully equal to its range will readily be conceded by any one who consults the Catalogue of Government Publications from 1774 to 1881, in a ponderous quarto of 1,400 pages; or the two supplementary Lists of United States Government Publications from 1880 to 1890, issued as a part of the "American Catalogue" by the "Publishers' Weekly," New York, in 1885 and 1891. The first-named Catalogue[1] contains more than 100,000 titles, and, with many notable errors and omissions, it is an invaluable finding-list to guide the unskilled wanderer through the labyrinth of public documents. Without it, the finding of a clue to any one of the multitudinous Reports buried in the chaotic mass of

[1] For sale by the Public Printer at $1.90 per copy.

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printed matter issued by acts of Congress, would be a hopeless task, but for the aid of living indexes at Washington.

How vast a business is carried on by the Government Printing-Office may be gathered from the fact that more than 3,000 operatives are employed, at wages aggregating about $2,900,000 a year; that 40,888,598 copies of separate documents were printed in 1894; that the number of pages of type set the same year was 286,152 (exclusive of the Congressional Record) and that for a single Report (that of the Secretary of Agriculture) more than 1,000,000 pounds of book printing paper were required. The statement frequently made that this is the most extensive printing-office in the world is borne out by its operations, although by no means true of its building. The latter is to the last degree unsuited to so vast a business, being old, overcrowded, and notoriously unsafe.

The history of Congressional or government printing at Washington is a history of a continuous series of unsatisfactory experiments, until the establishment, in 1860, of a printing-office owned and controlled by the Government. The public printing was constantly shifted from a letting by contract to the lowest bidder, with constant appeals from losing or bankrupt contractors to be reimbursed by Congress, to the election by the Senate, or the House, or by both combined, of a printer to serve for a single Congress. Many public scandals, and consequent investigations by committees, followed upon this system, or want of system. Sub-letting of contracts, bribery, and political and personal subsidies were among the unsavory fruits thus developed. These abuses had become so flagrant, and their exposure in Congress and by the public press had so roused the attention of the country that at length, in 1860, the bill establishing the Government Printing-Office was passed,—Democrats and Republicans for once joining in the large majority which provided for the new experiment. This has proved, under all administrations, a marked success, both in economy and efficiency, as compared with former methods. A comparison of cost, for the seven years 1853 to 1860, and the seven years 1871 to 1878, showed that the average cost per page under the contract system was $1.76, while at the government office it was only 75 cents per page; and this notwithstanding the fact that the average price paid for labor during the earlier period was but $2.73 per day, as against $3.75 per day during the latter.

The rapid development and increase of government printing is shown conspicuously in the figures of its annual cost. In 1819, all

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the printing and binding of the Government required an expenditure of only $65,000. In a Report made to Congress in 1859, the whole cost from 1819 to 1853 was stated at $3,574,343, while the printing for the six years 1853 to 1859 cost $3,462,655; or about as much in six years as in the previous thirty-three years. This extravagance led to the final establishment of the Government Printing-Office; and the greatly expanded business of multiplying books and documents ever since is shown in the figures of annual expenditure, which were in 1863, for printing and binding, $1,417,750; in 1870, $1,609,860; in 1880, $2,034,751; in 1890, $3,124,462; and in 1894, $3,940,410. The cost of government printing and binding in Great Britain in 1894 was £522,500, or about $2,600,000; but as this included stationery for all the public offices, and as no free document distribution exists there, except one copy to each member of Parliament, there are far more elements of contrast than of comparison.

If we now turn to the consideration of some of the more notable contributions to public information for which we are indebted to the American Government, we shall find that these contributions have been neither few nor small. At the head of the list, in point of extent and costliness of production, stands the United States Exploring Expedition to the South Seas and around the world, under Charles Wilkes, in the years 1838–1842. This voyage included parts of South America on both oceans, the islands of the Pacific, the East Indies, the Northwest coast of America, and discovered what was supposed to be an Antarctic continent. The operations of this expedition included the observations of many naturalists, the scientific results of whose labors were worked up by Asa Gray, James D. Dana, Charles Pickering, Louis Agassiz, S. F. Baird, John Cassin, W. D. Brackenridge, A. A. Gould, and others, and costly atlases of plates were published by way of illustration. This vast publication, though strictly limited to an edition of one hundred copies, and never completed, cost this Government from first to last $242,460.55. This enormous sum was of course exclusive of the expenses of the expedition itself, and covered (1) the labor of many scientific experts in various departments of natural history; (2) the finest engravings which the art of that day could supply; (3) the choicest paper of heavy satin finish; (4) the hand-press work of the best printers; and (5) binding in the heaviest and most durable of Turkey morocco, full gilt. Eighteen volumes of text in quarto, and eleven folio atlases of maps and plates were finished up to 1861,

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when Congress, already impatient at the renewed demands for money to carry on a work of which the ultimate cost was unknown, brought it to a close by refusing further appropriations. The one hundred sets printed were by law distributed thus: thirty-four copies to foreign governments; one copy to each State in the Union; and six copies to specially designated institutions or individuals: the remainder to be reserved. Repeated fires in printing offices consumed thirty copies of certain volumes before distribution could be made, so that even the meagre diffusion of the work was never fully carried out. Still it is creditable to the liberality of Congress to have engaged, in those days of small things, and of strict construction, in putting into permanent literary form the scientific results of an exploration which had awakened world-wide interest. The primal error of the undertaking lay in limiting the edition to one hundred copies, and sending all the American distribution only to libraries at State capitals. Thus, Albany has a set of this great exploring expedition, while New York City has none. Columbus, Ohio, is endowed with the costly volumes, but Cincinnati and Cleveland scholars cannot see them without travelling more than a hundred miles. Springfield, Illinois, has these rare and precious volumes in its State library, gathering the dust of years, and perhaps never consulted, while the great metropolis of Chicago cannot show a copy of one of the most notable of purely American books. This remarkable history of a government's doing a very liberal thing in a very niggardly way, suggests that if only a hundred more copies had been printed, their distribution would have supplied every library in the United States having at that day as many as 10,000 volumes. This added number would have cost only the price of paper and press-work—a mere trifle in comparison with the vast sum squandered in diffusing so small a number of copies to an immeasurably smaller number of readers than should have been reached. Besides, the Government might have printed for an even wider distribution the five-volume "Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition," without the plates, a popular and interesting work, published only by private enterprise.

The earlier American explorations of Lewis and Clarke, Zebulon Pike, and Captain Long, in the first quarter of the century, were not published by the Government. At a later period, there were printed at government expense Fremont's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains (1843), and to Oregon and California (1845); Nicollet's Report on the upper Mississippi River (1843); Emory's Military

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Reconnaissance in Missouri and California (1848), and his Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, 3 vols. (1848); Lynch's Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea (1852); Sitgreaves's Expedition down the Zuni and Colorado (1853); Herndon and Gibbon's Exploration of the River Amazon, 2 vols. (1853); Marcy's Exploration of the Red River (1854); Gilliss's United States Astronomical Expedition to Chili and the Southern Hemisphere, 4 vols. (1855); Reports of Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, 13 vols., 4to (1855–60); Report of Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan, 3 vols. (1856); Ives's Report on the Colorado River, explored in 1857–58 (1861); Powell's Exploration of the Colorado River of the West (1875), etc. While many of these numerous publications in the field of exploration by land and sea, with many others which might be named (mostly illustrated with plates and maps), may lack the elements of careful or profound research which would satisfy the exactions of modern science, and embody rather the results of topographical and personal observation than accurate scientific studies, they have much value as examples of earlier American enterprise in exploring what were then untrodden fields. These volumes, however, are long since "out of print."

At a later day, came the more systematic and thorough work of physical exploration organized and carried on by the Government, at first under direction of the War Department, and afterward by the United States Geological Survey attached to the Department of the Interior. The Report of Surveys west of the 100th meridian, under Geo. M. Wheeler, was completed in 1889 in 7 volumes, quarto, with a topographic and geologic atlas. The Survey of the Fortieth Parallel, under Clarence King, was published in seven quarto volumes, from 1870 to 1881. By the act of 1879, the several distinct geological Surveys were discontinued, and a Director of the Geological Survey was appointed, under whom all the surveys were placed, except the Coast Survey, the surveys of the Land Office, and those of the Hydrographic Office of the Navy. Prior to this, twelve annual Reports of the Geological Survey of the Territories were issued, 1868–1878. The annual Reports of the Director of the Geological Survey began with Clarence King's (1880), continued by J. W. Powell's (1881–1894), in 16 volumes. The annual Reports on the Mineral Resources of the United States, 1880 to 1894, have

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also been published, numerous occasional monographs and bulletins have been issued, and it is a gratifying fact that all the publications of the Geological Survey, highly valuable as they are recognized to be, are for sale to the public at a moderate fixed price.

The Bureaus of the Interior Department all issue publications of great interest and importance. The official Register of the United States ("Blue Book"), commenced in 1816, and continued biennially, the last issue being that of 1893, is printed (in small number) by the Department of the Interior. It gives the names, nativities, States, and salaries of the great army of government employees, in every Department and Bureau, and throughout the country.

The Bureau of Education, besides its Annual Reports, published regularly since 1868, and the important "Report on the Public Libraries of the United States, their History, Condition and Management," issued in 1876, and now out of print, issues "Circulars of Information," being monographs upon almost every conceivable phase of educational development. It has published also an extensive Report upon Art Education, in two volumes; a catalogue of 5,000 volumes for a Popular Library, prepared by the American Library Association (1893); and two editions of "Statistics of the Public Libraries of the United States," in 1886 and 1893.

The publications of the Census Office are too well known to require even a summary here. Twenty-two quarto volumes covered the tenth census, of 1880, besides a Compendium in two volumes. That of 1890, expected to be completed the present year, will embrace 25 quarto volumes of 700 to 1,200 pages each (only five of which are issued), besides a Compendium in 3 volumes, and an Abstract. This, too, notwithstanding the official statement that the census of 1890 was to be "purely a statistical census," as distinguished from the voluminous historical and miscellaneous treatises which encumbered that of 1880. It were much to be wished that Congress would make of the Census a permanent Bureau, order it to be taken every five years, stop requiring an impossible census of wealth (never undertaken in any other nation) and so reduce to practical aims the subjects to be covered, that the results might be published before the facts on which they are based have become ancient history.

The publications of the Patent Office embrace annual Reports of the Commissioner, with index of patents for the year; specifications and drawings of patents, in quarto; the valuable Official Gazette of the Patent Office (weekly), decisions in patent cases, voluminous indexes

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of patents issued from the beginning, and other occasional publications. A special Report on the "Growth of Industrial Art" was printed in costly form in two folio volumes in 1884, by the government fund for the New Orleans Exposition.

The publications of the Department of Agriculture begin with the Annual Report of the Secretary, the most widely circulated document published in this country or in the world. Formerly, the enormous number of 300,000 to 400,000 copies was printed, but the act of 1895 fixes the quota to be printed annually hereafter at 500,000 copies. This allows 1,000 copies to each Representative in Congress, and 1,250 to each Senator, for distribution. It is not very easy to understand what use the Representatives of urban districts (the ten members from New York City, for example) can find for so large an edition of an agricultural work. Besides the Agricultural Report, there are issued special Reports (monthly) covering the condition of crops, and a long series of bulletins by the various bureaus of the department. Several elaborate Reports on forestry, hog-cholera, pleuro-pneumonia in cattle, diseases of the horse, etc., have been published. Of the last-named illustrated work, Congress has just ordered 75,000 copies to be printed.

The Department of State has long prepared and issued, under appropriations by Congress, not only certain annual volumes concerning the relations of the United States with foreign countries, but occasional monographs of great value in other fields. Its regularly issued publications embrace "Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States," the annual series of which began in 1861, before which time only occasional papers of importance were published; the Report upon the "Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Countries" (annual); Reports from the Consuls of the United States on the commerce, manufactures, etc., of their Consular Districts (monthly), commenced in 1880, and now amounting to 47 volumes; and the Statutes at Large of the United States (annual), extending to 28 volumes in 1895. These, and the Revised Statutes to 1873, in one volume, are furnished at cost. Some special publications edited at this Department are Wharton's Digest of International Law, 3 vols.; Report upon Labor in Foreign Countries; Treaties and Conventions between the United States and Foreign Powers; and the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution. It also publishes the Bulletins of the Bureau of American Republics, embracing about 70 volumes, devoted to the spread of

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information as to the resources and history of South and Central America, Mexico, and the West Indies.

The Treasury Department prints, besides the annual Report of the Secretary on the Finances, the valuable Report on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States, prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, and forming a continuous series from 1821 to 1895. The same Bureau issues the annual Statistical Abstract of the United States, and Quarterly Reports of the Imports, Exports, Immigration, and Navigation of the United States. The Coast and Geodetic Survey has published for sixty years past annual Reports showing the progress of that work, besides Tide Tables (annual) and numerous special monographs. The Commissioner of Navigation issues an annual Report on the Merchant Marine of the United States, and a list (yearly) of all Merchant Vessels. The Director of the Mint publishes annual Reports upon the coinage, besides an elaborate yearly Report of the production of the precious metals in the United States.

Under the War Department is issued the extensive "Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion," now extending to over 90 volumes, and still unfinished. This is to be followed by the "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion," the first volume of which was issued in 1894. Various Bureaus of the War Department also publish annual and occasional Reports. One of the most important publications is the Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's office, begun in 1880, and now extending to 15 volumes in large quarto. This is a minute and thoroughly digested index, by subjects as well as authors, to what is now the largest library of books, pamphlets, and periodicals on medical science in the world. The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion was completed, in 6 quarto volumes, in 1888.

The important publications of the Navy Department include, besides annual Reports of the Secretary and Bureau officers, a series of Navy Scientific Papers and Navy Professional Papers—valuable monographs upon ship-building, armor, propulsion, cyclones, great circle sailing, signals, etc. The Bureau of Navigation prints continual new editions of that standard work, Bowditch's "New American Practical Navigator." The Hydrographic Office, besides an infinitude of maps and charts, familiar to mariners all over the globe, and of untold public utility, publishes Atlantic and Pacific Coast Pilots, sailing directions covering the Mediterranean, the American,

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British, European, Asian, and African coasts and harbors, with the islands of all the seas, and lists of lighthouses. The Nautical Almanac office publishes yearly the American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac, begun in 1855, and prepared and issued two years in advance of the year it covers,—such are the advantages of the exact science with which it deals. A long series of Astronomical and Meteorological Observations are published by the Naval Observatory, commencing in 1845, and still continued.

The Fish Commission, besides annual Reports, has published an extensive Report on Food-fishes and Fisheries of the United States, 3 vols., 1882; The Great International Fisheries Exhibition, London, 1883, 6 vols.; the Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States, 7 vols.; a series of annual bulletins, and many monographs.

The Department of Labor (first established in 1884) has published ten annual Reports filled with valuable statistical information on Strikes, Wages, Convict Labor, Working-Women, etc., a special Report on Marriage and Divorce in the United States, the Gothenburg system of Liquor Traffic, etc.

Published by the Smithsonian Institution, but printed at the Government Printing Office, are the annual Reports of its Secretary, and the important Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology, the twelfth of which was published in 1894. The annual Reports of the United States National Museum, and 15 volumes of its "Proceedings," embodying numerous monographs by the Curators of the Museum upon subjects in many fields of natural history, are published by the Government. These publications, as well as the numerous Smithsonian Institution issues (printed at the cost of the Smithsonian fund), are all sold to the public at a fixed nominal price.

Besides the varied series of permanent and occasional publications of government Departments and Bureaus, printed at the public cost, there is the vast series of Congressional Reports, Journals, and Executive and Miscellaneous Documents, printed yearly by the Senate and (separately) by the House of Representatives. These "Executive Documents" frequently duplicate what are printed for the various Departments. There are also the Congressional Directory (two or three editions annually) and the Congressional Record, containing the full proceedings and debates of Congress, and numbering from three to eleven quarto volumes for each session.

The methods of circulation of the enormous product of the government presses at Washington are embarrassing and objectionable

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in the extreme. The abuses connected with the existing system, or want of system, are numerous and well-known. Instead of a systematic distribution of these publications to those who want them and can use them, they have been scattered at haphazard, on a method of selection which it is a mild use of language to term caprice. There are multitudes of valuable books, contributing important additions to the public information, which were squandered at the time of their issue upon unappreciative people who never read them, but which are now unattainable for reference even in great public libraries. The junk-shops have swallowed every year tons of public documents, to be ground over into paper, and the vaults of the Capitol are crowded with untold masses of unused books and documents. How to bring about a reform by which this enormous waste shall be stopped, and the tools shall go to the hands that can use them, is a problem with which successive Congresses have struggled in vain. The system of supplying all documents at cost, which prevails in England, where any one may buy government publications at about 20 pages for a penny, has been recommended, but always defeated. In London, for sixpence or a shilling, a "Blue Book," containing statistical or scientific information which may have cost thousands of pounds to procure, may be had by any one. Here, the scholar in pursuit of scientific facts, the intelligent mechanic, the young man hungry for knowledge known to be in some government Report, must travel far to seek it in some public library, or send to Washington only to be told that it is "out of print." Even the libraries are but little cared for, as it is shown in a recent Report that of the principal libraries of the country not more than one in eight is regularly supplied by Congress with documents published for general distribution. Much was hoped from a new measure to regulate the public printing and binding, pending for years past, and the American Library Association has labored with Congress to secure at least a fair distribution to the more important libraries of government books. But the printing bill as finally passed, in 1895, provides only a single amendment as to libraries, requiring those having less than one thousand volumes to be stricken from the distributing list, and the Senator or Representative in its district to designate another depository.

The new act, however, does aim to accomplish long-needed reforms in the numbers printed, as well as in the distribution of public documents. The "regular number" of each document printed is reduced from 1,900 to 1,682 copies, and those heretofore printed in

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extra numbers are defined and limited. A single Superintendent of Documents, under the Public Printer, is provided for, who is to keep strict record of every publication and its distribution, in conformity to new provisions laid down in the law. He is to publish an annual index to all government documents printed during the year. But the most important provision of the act, to the reading public, is one authorizing the Superintendent of Documents to sell at cost any public document in his charge, not exceeding one copy to the same person. This will be hailed as a great step forward in legislation, providing the means of securing valuable information, at extremely moderate cost, to those who have heretofore been unable to secure for themselves this benefit.

One question which is inevitably asked regarding every institution of the Government remains to be briefly touched,—namely, Does the great printing establishment at Washington pay? In other words, do the people receive from its vast and varied publications benefits which are commensurate with their cost? This opens a field of inquiry upon which we shall find the widest difference of opinion. On the one hand, there are not wanting many critics of existing methods, who charge that the Government Printing Office is a vast political machine, an employment shop—the largest in the country—for the partisans of the party in power; that the work which it turns out could be performed better and more cheaply by competition; that ten times as much matter is printed as is needful or expedient; that the public money is lavished upon costly books, full of more or less useless knowledge; that Congress, by ordering such vast numbers of books for distribution by its members, is perpetuating a gift-book system or perquisite which is partial, odious, and undemocratic, taxing ninety-nine citizens in order that the hundredth may get a book free of cost; that the Government, in embarking in the business of book-manufacture and free circulation, is competing unfairly with private publishing enterprise; that the publication by the Government of such a multitude of treatises in the domain of science tends to give a kind of official sanction to certain scientific theories or schools of opinion, and to discourage free, original, and independent investigation; that the free-book system is a feature of the paternalism which grows upon us year by year; that the abuses of the system of publication and distribution are radical and inherent, that members of Congress are found selling the books allotted them, and that the only cure for the evils that beset the system is to abolish it entirely,

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stop printing miscellaneous contributions to knowledge, and let what remains of the public printing be awarded to the lowest bidder.

On the other hand, it is claimed that the publication and wide diffusion by the Government of valuable and continually new information is a great and inestimable public benefit; that the greater part of the scientific documents printed embody original investigations in untrodden fields, which would never have been made except at the expense of the Government; that the agriculturists of the country have derived from information diffused so widely among them manifold more material benefits than the cost to the tax-payers; that the facts disseminated as to mining, manufactures, fisheries, diseases, atmospheric disturbances, education, inventions, labor and wages, railways, water-ways, and a multitude of other subjects, have proved of incalculable value; that not to print and circulate the intelligence gathered by government agencies would prove the Government derelict in its duty; that it is one primary object of government to do for the people what, in their unorganized capacity, they are unable to do for themselves; that nothing is arrogated by those who are sometimes called government scientists more than is claimed by private scholars; that the system of printing by contract has been tried for years, with most extravagant and pernicious results; that to charge Congress with corruption because here and there a Congressman sells his documents for private gain is grossly unjust and calumnious; and that the road to a reform of the system of printing and distributing public documents lies in the direction of amendment, not of destruction. No doubt many and costly mistakes have sometimes been made,—as shown in the unwieldy redundancy of the Reports of the Census of 1880, and in other publications; but as the tendency to shorthand methods in modern life is a growing one, there has been a perceptible drift toward more condensed Reports—both Congressional and Executive. The substantial curtailment of much wasteful printing by the recent act of Congress, and the provisions for circulation by public sale, are forward steps which may lead to further progress in the right direction. And the people of the country, while carefully watching all expenditures of the public money, will not grudge any wise expenditure in the interest of the public intelligence.

AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD.

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PETTIFOGGING LAW-SCHOOLS AND AN UNTRAINED BAR.

MR. JAMES BRYCE, writing of the universities of America, uses these words: "While of all the institutions of the country they are those of which the Americans speak most modestly and indeed deprecatingly, they are those which seem to be at this very moment making the swiftest progress and to have the best promise for the future. They are supplying exactly those things which European critics have hitherto found lacking in America, and they are contributing to her political as well as to her contemplative life elements of inestimable worth."

The various influences, German, English, and American, which are moulding our higher education, are joining together to produce the American university. And the American university, as Mr. Bryce has clearly indicated, is becoming an institution in every way worthy of our great Republic. Its swaddling clothes of English tradition are being cast aside, and it is growing to be American in the high sense of adjustment to the American people's needs. The academic work of the best American institutions is characterized by vigor and thoroughness, and in the free air that pervades them there is every promise for their future.

But with all this, the professional schools of America have not taken their part in the university development. It has been said of the American law-schools, for example, that "they are the weakest and therefore the worst to be found in any civilized country." Broadly speaking, and taking out some half-dozen notable exceptions (not so many nor so notable as they should be), this statement cannot be denied. Of this deficiency, its causes, and its remedy, I propose briefly to treat in this paper.

In Europe, professional training is in general the culmination of university education. It is not so in America. It is here rather a "practical short-cut" by which uneducated or ineducable men are helped to the rewards of knowledge and skill with the least possible loss of time. In most of our States, provision is made for a system

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of public education beginning with the common schools and culminating in the university. The law-schools, however, in the different States form no part of this system. They are rarely even in real alliance with it. Their place is with the "Independent Normal" and the "School of Oratory." Instead of a requirement of general intelligence and a special knowledge of economics, history, literature, and language, as a preparation for the study of law, our schools have been eager to admit any one who could pay the required fees and perchance read the English language.

Instead of trained professors who make the methods of investigation and instruction in law the work of a life-time, we find in most of our law-schools lawyers who have turned incidentally to teaching, with no knowledge of the methods by which teaching may be made effective. Some of them are young men who have not yet found anything more serious to do. But usually the chairs of law are occupied by broken-down lawyers, released from active practice—old men who read old lectures to audiences inattentive or occupied with newspapers, or who conduct a lifeless quiz from lifeless text-books. Sometimes able lawyers fill these chairs, men still in active practice, whose hour in the class-room is taken early in the morning or late in the afternoon, before or after the arduous duties of a day in court. With these men, the court and not the school occupies their thought and fills their ambitions.

The law students are in general assistants in law offices or clerks in business establishments. They devote their hours outside the class-room, not to library research or to the investigations of principles and precedents, but to the making of money. The law school is expected not to interrupt their usual vocations. The atmosphere of culture which surrounds every real institution of learning, and which it is the business of great teachers to create, is unknown to the average student of law.

Often the law-school appears in its register as a branch of some university. In most such cases, this relation is one which exists only in name. It is a common expression that such and such a college is "surrounded by a fringe of professional schools." These exist as stolons or suckers around a stalk of corn, rather than as representing "the full corn in the ear." When a nominal alliance exists, it rests not often on unity of purpose or method, but on the fact of mutual service. The reputation of the university tends to advertise the law-school. The roll of law students swells the apparent

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attendance of the university. By the number of names on the register, the success of the American university is popularly measured.

There is, besides, a strong force of precedent which causes each new law-school to be modelled on the lines of the old ones. These influences and others oblige our universities to wink at the obvious incongruity of the requirement of elaborate and careful preparation for the study of literature, chemistry, and economics, while for the study of law a mere reading acquaintance with the English language passes as adequate. More than once, college faculties in this matter have had to subordinate their opinions to those of timid Boards of Trustees, who are afraid that high standards in a law-school would be fatal to its success, measuring success in the conventional fashion as Boards of Trustees are prone to do.

It is thus true, as President Eliot has said, that into an American law school any man "can walk from the street." But in most of the States he can do better or worse than this. From the street he can walk directly into the profession of law, disregarding even the formulæ of matriculation or graduation. Even the existence of the law-school is a concession to educational tradition. It is possible with us to enter any one of the "learned professions" with no learning whatsoever. In fact, in many of our States, it requires no more preparation to be admitted to the bar than to be admitted to the saw-buck. Fortunately, admission to either on these terms carries with it no prestige or social elevation whatever. But the danger in the one case is greater than in the other. The inefficient lawyer may work the ruin of interests entrusted to him. The ignorant physician is more dangerous than the plague. The incompetent wood-sawyer harms only the wood-pile. A large part of our criminal records is devoted to legal and medical malpractice. In other words, our bulk of crime is swollen by robbery and murder committed under the guise of professional assistance. When the professions cease to be open wide to adventurers and thieves, they will rise to something of their traditional dignity. It has been said that the only "learned profession" in America at present is that of the engineer. The value of knowledge and training in the various applications of science to human affairs has always been recognized among us. The people have freely taxed themselves for industrial instruction, and it is now generally recognized as a necessary part of the State-university system. The faculty in mechanic arts stands on an equality with the univer-

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sity faculties, and in general the standards of admission and methods of work in these branches compare favorably with those in any other field. The reason for this is not far to seek. The necessity of education in these lines is self-evident. Men cannot trifle with the forces of nature. The incompetence, or ignorance, or dishonesty of an engineer will soon make itself evident. The incompetence of men in other professions is not less disastrous, but it is more easily concealed. And for this reason the common man regards it with greater indifference.

It seems to me that the essential weakness of the American law-school, as well as that of our professional schools in general, lies in the method of organization. They have lost their place in the university. This separation which I have tried to describe exists only in America. For this separation, the popular desire to reach these professions by short cuts, and the popular distrust of those who have done so, are equally responsible.

Our people have always been willing to tax themselves to furnish a general education for their children. The common-school idea from the very first has included a liberal education. But in most of the States, the people have at one time or another definitely refused to devote public funds to the making of lawyers and doctors. They would not, at their expense, help men into professions they believed to be overpaid as well as overcrowded. This policy has been a most shortsighted one. It has been responsible for the existence in every part of our country of hordes of pettifoggers and quacks who rob the people instead of serving them. Incompetent professional service is always robbery. The professions are overcrowded simply because they have ceased to be professions. The remedy for incompetence is found in insisting on competence. This can be done by furnishing means by which competence can be made possible.

The forces which have operated here are necessarily associated with the growth of democracy. The movement of civilization has been constantly in the direction of the extension of the powers and privileges of the few to the many. By this influence, careers and distinctions once reserved for the aristocracy have been opened to the common man. One immediate result, temporary no doubt, is that the common man has invaded these provinces without abating one whit of his commonness. This is a necessary phase of the vulgarization which follows the extension of justice known as democracy. It is connected with the vulgarization of the press, the theatre, the

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pulpit, which must follow their adjustment to the needs of the many rather than to the finer tastes or juster judgment of the few. The common man is satisfied with common lawyers. When he ceases to be thus satisfied, he is no longer common. That his freedom of choice and the training which results from it will in the long run eliminate this vulgarization, is the justification for democracy. Our hope for the future lies largely in our recognition of the badness of the present. From the weakness of our professional schools, the common man is the chief sufferer. And already he is joining in the demand that these schools be made better. It is one virtue of democracy that it is free to meet its own demands. It is absolutely certain that those schools whose work is most thorough and whose requirements are most exacting will have the most students, as well as the best ones. It is not true that the students of America demand poor instruction because it is cheap.

Notwithstanding all adverse conditions, there have been many great teachers of law in America. The great teacher makes his influence felt, whatever the defects in the organization of the institution which claims his services. The present prominence of the University of Michigan rests in large degree on the work of Thomas M. Cooley. The work of John B. Minor in the University of Virginia gives a well-deserved prominence to the Virginia school of law. Other law professors have added in no small degree to the prestige of Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, and the University of Pennsylvania. In all these institutions, a strenuous effort has been made to place the work in law on a basis not less high than that occupied by history and economics. In other words, in these and in some other institutions, it is only a question of a short time till the law faculty shall be made not an "annex," but an integral part of the faculty of the university. When this is done, the requirements for graduation as a lawyer will not be less than equivalent to the work for which a degree would be granted to a chemist or a civil engineer.

To find the cause of any deficiency is to go a long way toward curing it. In this case, it seems to me, the remedy lies in placing the instruction in law on the same footing as that of other departments of the university. The teaching of law should be a life-work in itself. The requirements and methods in law should be abreast of the best work in any department. The university atmosphere and the university ideals should surround the student in law as well as the student in history. No one should be encouraged to take pro-

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fessional studies until he is capable of carrying them on seriously and successfully. There is, moreover, no reason for segregating the teachers of law in any way from the other members of the university faculty. As well make chemistry or economics a separate school as to set off the law by itself. All these separations may be made in name, but they should not exist in fact. The elements of law have as strong claim to a place in general education as the elements of geometry or psychology. Even for purposes of professional education, it is better that the study of law should be carried on simultaneously with that of the historical and social sciences, which are its natural associates. The basis of law is in the nature of man, not in the statutes of the United States nor in those of England. The common law has its source in man and his civilization, not in the books. This the student must learn to know and feel. So history, social science, and law must be mutually dependent on one another. The student of the one cannot be ignorant of the others. The suggestion that social studies should accompany rather than precede law studies has lately received the strong advocacy of Dr. Woodrow Wilson. This association should give to the student not only a lawyer's training but a scholar's horizon. Without this, broad views in jurisprudence and in politics are impossible. Such a course of study would give dignity to the general culture of the college. A student takes a better hold on culture-studies where they are clearly related to the work of his life.

Moreover, the politicians of each country are, for the most part, its lawyers. Our lawyers are our rulers. We can never hope to see our States well governed till its lawyers are well trained. There can be no political conscience except as an outcome of political knowledge. Right acting can come only as a result of right thinking. The men who think right will in the long run act in accord with their knowledge. Those who have known that there is a science of human institutions can never wholly forget that fact. There can be no right thinking in matters of public administration without a knowledge of the laws of growth of human institutions. Only in accordance with these laws is good government possible. Of these fundamental laws of being the statutes of man must be an expression. Where they are not so, the people have sooner or later a fearful score to pay. The Fates charge compound interest on every human blunder, and they have their own way at the last.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

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OUR DEBT TO INVENTORS: SHALL WE DISCOURAGE THEM?

THE world has made greater progress in the last century than in all the earlier ages. This progress it owes to the inventor, the mechanic, and the engineer. Modern material advancement practically dates from the time of the general recognition of the inventor's rights, and the formulation of the first rough outlines of our modern system of patent law, at the commencement of the seventeenth century. But all progress is an acceleration, and, slow at first, it becomes increasingly rapid, until, after a time, all the world is astounded by its mighty rush.

Beginning with the "statute of monopolies" of James I., in 1623, it was recognized as a correct principle, in law and in statecraft, that "the crown, as the patron of science and art, and guardian of the common weal," has power, even though "apparently against the common right," to reward with an exclusive control of the use of his own brain-product the man who should "conduct exclusively new trades, or deal in objects hitherto unknown," "as a reward and encouragement." By the time of Watt, the patent system had taken form, and had established itself as an essential part of the common law of Great Britain; and it was only through the operation of these laws that the world acquired possession of the forces of steam, gained, by protecting Arkwright, a system of spinning machinery, secured the benefits of Cort's puddling process and of Dudley's methods of iron-making, and, in fact, within the century has harvested, through the labors of inventors, all the wealth of modern times. All has come, substantially, by the protection of the inventor until he could perfect his invention, obtain capital for its development and introduction, and give to the nation the full measure of his great benefaction. Without the patent law the inventor would have little inducement to perfect an invention which might be taken out of his hands by the first pirate of brain-product; he would have little chance of securing that aid of the capitalist which is an invariable essential to the development of the new idea; and, except for this magnificent foundation of modern art,

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neither he nor the capitalist nor the nation would be able promptly and completely to reap a harvest which demands so long a preliminary period of sowing, cultivation, and guardianship. The United States commenced, at the very first, with an exceptionally liberal system of patent law; and the systematic and cordial encouragement of its great inventors, from 1790 to the middle of the nineteenth century, has repaid to the nation a thousandfold all its costs and all its sacrifices. It has placed the United States far in the van in all progress resulting from scientific discovery and mechanical invention. It was recognized by Washington and Jefferson and Madison, and all the great men of the earlier Congresses, that this is the one case in law in which law must itself establish the right to property. Material wealth is acquired by gathering together the substance. It is tangible, and the owner's right is unquestionable. The law does not establish his right; it simply protects his property against unlawful seizure. In the case of the product of the brain, whether of the inventor, or author, or discoverer, he cannot of himself hold, or establish, his own possession; the law must give him what is recognized as a limited possession and monopoly, fairly dividing advantages between him and the people.

But of late, and especially since the telegraph, the telephone, the steamboat, the locomotive, the harvesting machine, and the electric railway have illustrated so marvellously the genius and helpful talent of the inventor, and advanced the world so wonderfully, the Republic has lost its earlier sense of justice, and has failed in its appreciation of the benefits thus conferred upon it. It has illustrated the traditional ingratitude of Republics by exhibiting, through laws and the courts and public outcry, the most remarkable ingratitude; withdrawing from its greatest benefactor the rights formerly accorded him. To-day, the legislatures, the courts, the great public itself, unite in this oppression of their benefactor. In a single generation, it is agreed among statisticians, the inventors have promoted the efficiency of human labor, and have diverted to the use of man such enormous amounts of nature's energies that production has been increased fifty to seventy-five per cent more rapidly than population, and wealth has been correspondingly augmented. A day's labor produces two-thirds more in agricultural implements, or in carriages, and a half more in machinery, and eighty per cent more in boots and shoes, than in 1860. One dollar has been made capable of buying fifty per cent more of cloth, a quarter more of every kind of staple

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food; five men do the work of eight, and both wages and the purchasing power of the dollar have increased together. Labor can to-day produce twice as much in a given time, and secure more than twice as large a share of the product, as in the days of the origin of our patent law. In the time of Watt and Fulton, six weeks were required to cross the Atlantic, and the inventor and the mechanic and the engineer now send the steamship across in six, and will soon make the voyage in five days. They transport a ton a mile at sea with the combustion of the amount of fuel represented by a single one of the millions of letters in the modern foreign mail-bags. They have reduced the cost of transporting wheat from New York to Liverpool from twelve cents a bushel to four cents, and of meat from absolute commercial impracticability to one cent a pound. They have given the world nearly a half-million miles of railroads, and transport 150,000,000,000 tons a mile each year. Without protection of the inventor's rights to his own absolute creation and brain-property, we should to-day not have the aid of the fifty or seventy-five millions of horse-power of the steam-engines of the world and their equivalent aid—that of three or four times the working-power of the whole population of the globe.

As Dr. Siemens has said, "stages of development which, ages ago, required centuries for their consummation, and which at the beginning of our times required decades, now complete themselves in years." Thus, invention has increased the consumption of iron and steel, the true gauge of progress, from two or three pounds *per capita*, in the earlier part of the century in the United States and Great Britain, and as now among less civilized peoples, to two hundred and fifty, and, in the case of the former to three hundred pounds, for every man, woman, and child in the population. And these inventions, upon which all the material progress of the century has been based, do not affect exclusively the aggregation of vulgar and material forms of wealth. The telegraph and the telephone, those great "monopolies" so much inveighed against at the moment, have not only presented the world with the grandest illustrations of the helpfulness of modern science in promoting commerce and the industries of production; they promote also, directly and indirectly, and in a thousand ways, the intelligence and culture of the race. Morse and his colleagues among inventors gave the world, as a contribution to education and a stimulus to moral growth, inestimable profit upon all its patrons have paid into the treasury of the telegraph companies—

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to be redistributed to the world. The telephone, however "business-like" its management, is a gift from the inventor of vastly greater worth to the world than all the dividends ever declared by the telephone companies. Edison, and Thomson, and the General Electric and the Westinghouse Companies, representing contributions to the world of invention and the mechanic arts, as a limited tribute, have given handsome profits to the world of users of their inventions and products. . . . And yet the world is becoming sadly ungrateful, and the inventor must apparently, hereafter, as some have in fact already done, look elsewhere for reward. A letter under the hand of the writer tells of the inventor's plan to remain in a foreign country, because, as he believes, he is now more likely to be protected in his property, and to gain more from his studies and labor, than in his own country; where, as he thinks, public sentiment, the law, and the courts are continually exhibiting less and less disposition to treat their greatest benefactors with fairness and liberality.

For a century our own patent law was steadily perfected, and the wonderful progress of the United States in all the sciences and all the arts has been very largely due to the superiority of the patent system of our country over the contemporary codes of foreign countries and to its admirable adaptation to its purpose. It has always been possible for an American inventor, however poor, to find the means required by him to secure a careful examination of his invention, a report upon its novelty, and, if new and useful, a patent that protects him against infringers and gives him opportunity to perfect the device and to put it into profitable operation,—thus insuring a reward in some degree commensurate with its practical value. It is this protection and stimulus that have been the main basis of the extraordinary development of inventors and inventions and of the marvellous advance that the present generation has witnessed.

The steam-engines of James Watt, of Frederick Sickles, of George Corliss, which constitute the foundation of the whole system of modern industries, and furnish, practically, the whole sum of the mechanical power which has built up existing material civilization, were given to us by their inventors in response to the inducements held out to them by the patent law—itself the most important invention of all. Without the promised proprietary right to the sole use of his own invention, James Watt would probably never have toiled a life-time to perfect Newcomen's engine. He certainly would not have been able to secure the capital of Boulton, and to bring to his aid

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successful improvement, through experiment, and commercial success in manufacturing and introducing the new and mighty power. Mind and money must work together to make any great invention helpful in largest degree to the world and to bring it into common use promptly. Except for the promise of the United States Government to give Frederick Sickles the profits on his invention for fourteen years, with the provisional extension for another seven, the inventor of the "drop cut-off" would never have given twenty years of his life to the promotion of a system of steam-engine construction which, even then, was not remunerative to him, and yet which was the leading and successful experiment in that method of steam-distribution, and which, in turn, introduced the whole group of related inventions that advanced the steam-engine construction of our country so enormously. Without the promise of protection in the use of his brain-product, Mr. Corliss, the most famous of the inventors of our time in that field, would never have devoted his life to the improvement and introduction of his engine, he could not have secured the capital required to put up extensive and costly works, and he would not have taken the risks of entering upon what would have otherwise been a hazardous and unpromising undertaking.

Except for our hitherto admirable system of patent law, this country, in a word, would not have exhibited to the world that tremendous growth in all the arts, in every industry, in all that makes for civilization, which has been the great social phenomenon of the nineteenth century. In Great Britain, where, until recently, it was required that a man should give what, to the average inventor, is a small fortune, to secure, not protection, but simple registration of the fact of his having made what he supposes to be an original invention, and on the continent of Europe, where the patent laws were and still remain in great degree cumbersome, troublesome, and embarrassing as well as costly, no such development of the arts, no such outburst of inventive genius, and no such advancement of the people in all that constitutes wealth and produces comfort have been seen. It has been universally admitted that the United States has owed to the simple and inexpensive and effective action of the patent-law system, as well as to the freedom of its political institutions—the two forming units of a whole—the mighty march of its development and civilization. The blessings of the patent law have been inconceivably great.

But a spirit diametrically opposed to the spirit in which the patent system was conceived and enacted has within a few years

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sprung up, and its malevolent influence has been promptly seen and felt in the tone of legislation and in the decisions of the courts. The old feeling of indebtedness and of gratitude to the inventor and to the exploiter of inventions has become tempered by criticism and by a cavilling spirit, which seeks to deprive these greatest of benefactors of the race of the intellectual property which they create and the material benefits which they, in comparatively slight degree, share with the world. In many ways, both legislation and the decision of the courts are curtailing their rights and depriving them of the just share, which was formerly cheerfully granted to them, of the gains made by the world through their inventions. The inventive genius and his wholly beneficent work are now too often looked upon with suspicion, jealousy, and a mean opposition which are in strange contrast with the grateful and generous spirit which characterized every legislative and judicial act early in the century, and which pervaded the whole people of the United States from the time of Watt to the time of Corliss, of Fulton, of Stephenson, of Howe, and of Morse. The magnificent results of the work of the inventor and of the patent system now fail of proper appreciation, and the usually comparatively petty returns to the inventor are unreasonably magnified and ungenerously decried by an increasing number of thoughtless or selfish beneficiaries. It is now becoming fashionable to condemn as a monopoly the inventor's temporary possession of his own, under the law; and the greater its value and the larger the advantage to the public the louder becomes the chorus of protest against his receiving his due reward. The killing of the goose that lays the golden egg is contemplated even by "statesmen" and by the courts with complacency. They would nullify the patent system and put a summary end to this era of progress. They would terminate the period of supremacy of their country in all the industrial arts.

The latest blow, and one of the most severe, which has been aimed at our system of rewards to inventors, was dealt by the Supreme Court of the United States in its recent decision making the domestic patent expire with the termination of any foreign patent on the same device, without regard to the period of life of the former. The decision was, probably beyond question, strictly right as an interpretation of the law. The fault lies with the legislators and not with the court; but the effect is to deprive the American inventor, in many cases, of years of profitable business in the making and using of his device. The period of profitable introduction of a patent is

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generally late in its life; and, the more important the patent, the longer, as a rule, must the inventor labor before he can secure its introduction and recoup his expenditures, often enormously heavy, in its perfection and introduction. Revised Statute No. 4887, as interpreted by the court of last resort, extinguished, immediately and prospectively, many millions of dollars' worth of inventors' rights, and this must inevitably ultimately result in the repression of the inventive spirit, and must deprive the people of immeasurable benefits which would have come of encouraged and stimulated invention under the older *régime*. The law as it stands, and as it is interpreted, is an insult and a direct injury of enormous magnitude to the best friend of the human race among all its workers—the inventor.

It is easy to see why this is so. The patent law, while assuring a specified period of protection to the inventor and subsequent transfer of his rights and all later profits to the people—who realize all advantages in the end—provides for a system of careful examination of the claims of the proposing patentee. It determines as fully as possible the questions of his priority and of the value of his devices, and settles the question of priority when two inventors claim the same invention. A long time is often required, and interference-proceedings have often taken months, and even years. If the inventor, meantime, believes that he can profitably patent his device in foreign countries, and takes out his patent abroad at an early stage in these proceedings, the life of his patent at home is abridged, when it is finally issued, by the full period of the delay in settling his case on the part of the United States authorities. Interferences may even last, or successive declarations of interference may overlap, until his shortest foreign patent has actually expired; in which case his finally declared "rights" have absolutely no existence and no value. In many cases, the inventor may be driven to sacrifice his foreign patents entirely, rather than risk his domestic patent. The outcome of such contingencies is always a damage to the inventor and an unwarranted deprivation of property of his own creation. To base the allowed time of holding proprietorship in such property upon any conditions relating to the time or nature of the foreign patent-claim, is an illogical and grievous injustice.

When the United States loses its regard for the rights and privileges that were justly and fairly accorded to inventors in our earlier life as a nation, and, instead of gratitude and generous reward, gives

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them grudgingly less than a fair and liberal share of the profits which they so lavishly secure for the world, a long step will have been taken toward that decadence which, historians are accustomed to assure us, inevitably, sooner or later, comes to every people. The immediate and complete repeal of every obstructive law and the inauguration of a new period of good-will and generous encouragement of that highest of industries is the right way and the only way to insure permanence of that growth in material prosperity which has for a hundred years, and until the present moment almost, been the most marked characteristic of our history.

The promotion of the arts and manufactures by suitably rewarding inventors and providing that they shall be permitted to collect profits, as in all other departments of business, as large as the business will yield, and in due proportion to the value to the country of the invention or discovery, is one of the most important features of an enlightened public policy; and it is the duty of every intelligent and patriotic citizen, and especially of every one in any manner connected with any department of engineering, of manufactures, or of the mechanic arts, to exert every power and to apply all his influence to promote the perfecting of the patent system, to increase the facilities of the Patent Office, and, especially, to insure to the inventor of new and valuable devices a liberal period of possession of the products of his genius.

R. H. THURSTON.

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THE REBOUND FROM AGNOSTICISM: MR. BALFOUR'S BOOK.

THAT practical politics and speculative philosophy may inhabit the same brain, however incredible the co-tenancy may appear either to the dreaming idealist or to the huckstering boss, has once again been demonstrated by the achievement of an illustrious Englishman. The Right Honorable Arthur James Balfour, leader of the conservative party in the House of Commons and prospective Prime Minister of the British Empire, has put forth a grave and elaborate treatise[1] upon the most difficult and abstruse as it is also the most important of all subjects of human investigation. This union of the philosophical thinker with the man of affairs is no new phenomenon in English history. Just three hundred years before Mr. Balfour completed his philosophical introduction to theology the father of English philosophy was a candidate for the office of attorney-general; and though Queen Elizabeth conferred the dignity upon Coke, the disappointed author of the *Instauratio magna* was raised to the chancellorship by James I. It is a long way from Bacon to the present time; but as the names of Locke and Mill remind us that English philosophers have been active in politics, so the wonderful life of Mr. Gladstone shows that even the most renowned of English statesmen cannot be satisfied with the activities of public life, but needs to refresh and strengthen his spirit with the sustenance of letters, scholarship, and dialectics. There are men still living, though now old, who can recall the generous welcome which Macaulay gave to Mr. Gladstone's youthful work on Church and State, not because he agreed with its conclusions (for he riddled them unmercifully), but because it was an able treatise on a great problem and proceeded from the pen of a rising statesman who had written it during the intervals afforded by his parliamentary avocations. In the same spirit every reader will hail with pleasure the appearance of Mr. Balfour's book, whatever be his opinions of the soundness or unsoundness of the theories it

[1] "The Foundations of Belief. Being Notes Introductory to the Study of Theology." Macmillan.

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propounds. It is surely of good augury for the future of British civilization that the political leader who, more than any other now in sight, is qualified to take Mr. Gladstone's place in the hearts and imaginations of his countrymen, is willing to use the intervals of disengagement from the conflicts of active public life for patient and painful reflection upon the world-problems which the careless brush aside but which the serious and thoughtful man will always be compelled to face.

Mr. Balfour is in many respects well equipped for the task he has undertaken. His mind is of comprehensive range and of delicate and subtle temper. His vision sweeps the intellectual horizon and it reports the several objects of the landscape; and,—student, thinker, and man of affairs as he is,—his perspective is not infrequently far truer than that of most professional philosophers. He shows an originality in raising questions they ignore and a courage in claiming for these questions a consideration equal to that bestowed upon the more fashionable problems to which philosophical writers have offered solutions, while to those solutions he sometimes gives the most unexpected turns and most perplexing applications. Then Mr. Balfour's style is simply beyond all praise. Precise and perspicuous as that of Mill's Logic, easy as that of Locke's Essay, touched with something of the beauty and grace of Berkeley's Dialogues, his writing possesses the added attraction imparted by a remarkable facility in the use of apt and illuminating illustration, and it is occasionally exalted by passages of grave and majestic eloquence. Furthermore Mr. Balfour is no novice in philosophy. It was as far back as 1879, at a time when he was scarcely heard of in the House of Commons, that he made his first appearance in the character of a philosophical author. His work was entitled "A Defence of Philosophic Doubt," and under this designation it has always been cited. Even students of philosophy may be ignorant or unmindful of the fact that his first volume bore a sub-title which, in view of Mr. Balfour's latest publication, it will be both interesting and instructive to recall. The author described his work as "An Essay on the Foundations of Belief." The sub-title of the first volume is the title of the last, which is further characterized as "Notes Introductory to the Study of Theology."

The method and aim of both works are the same. It is to establish faith by following up scepticism to its legitimate logical results. Not Hume but Socrates is Mr. Balfour's model. In his hands the

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logic which had destroyed ultimate religious beliefs shows itself equally fatal to ultimate scientific beliefs. Doubt is no respecter of subjects. Give it fair play and it will have full play. Not much reflection is needed to convince one of the soundness of this contention. But it is hidden from the unreflecting because they *must*, if they are not to perish, believe and act upon the ungrounded assumptions of what they call "common sense" and what the scientists dignify with the appellation of "first principles." The fact is that our needs determine largely what we shall believe. Very well, says Mr. Balfour, in substance, I demand that *all our needs* shall be consulted in settling what is to be believed. We have spiritual needs as well as physical needs. A belief properly impressed with either stamp must be accepted as true. The currency of truth, we may not inappropriately represent Mr. Balfour as saying, is bimetallic. The naturalist, positivist, or agnostic may be compared to those oriental nations which have demonetized gold. Mr. Balfour champions a bimetallic standard, which shall give validity and currency to the precious beliefs answering to our spiritual needs not less than to the useful beliefs which correspond to our physical needs.

"The claims on our belief," he says in the earlier volume,[1] "which I assert to be possessed alike by Science and Theology, and which I put forward as the sole practical foundation on which our convictions ultimately rest . . . are not rational grounds of conviction, raised by their very nature above the reach of criticism. It would be more proper to describe them as a kind of inward inclination or impulse, falling far short of—I should perhaps rather say, altogether differing in kind from—philosophic certitude, leaving the reason therefore unsatisfied, but amounting nevertheless to a practical cause of belief, from the effects of which we do not desire to be released."

The same position is reiterated throughout Mr. Balfour's latest work, from which the following passage is taken almost at random:

"If faith be provisionally defined as conviction apart from or in excess of proof, then it is upon faith that the maxims of daily life, not less than the loftiest creeds and the most far-reaching discoveries, must ultimately lean. The ground on which constant habit and inherited predispositions enable us to read with a spirit so easy and so assured, is seen on examination to be not less hollow beneath our feet than the dim and unfamiliar regions which lie beyond. Certitude is found to be the child, not of Reason, but of Custom; and if we are less perplexed about the beliefs on which we are hourly called upon to act than about those which do not touch so closely our obvious and immediate needs, it is not because the questions suggested by the former are easier to answer, but because as a matter of fact we are much less inclined to ask them."[2]

[1] "A Defence of Philosophic Doubt," pp. 316, 317.
[2] "The Foundations of Belief," pp. 171, 172.

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It is about belief that all Mr. Balfour's philosophizing turns. The greater portion of the volume now under consideration is devoted to an examination into the consequences, the grounds, and the causes of belief. In other words Mr. Balfour strives to ascertain what beliefs lead to, what they rest on, and where they come from. But Mr. Balfour is not concerned, as the psychologist might be, in surveying *all* beliefs in this triple aspect. What interests him above every other is that belief in Positivism, Empiricism, or Naturalism, which seems to be the creed of most men of science, which claims to be the criterion of every other belief, and which boasts an undisputed derivation from the facts of our sensible experience.

Now whither does this naturalistic theory lead us? Consider, as a crucial example, what would be the effect of this theory, were it generally accepted by mankind, upon moral sentiments and practice. I do not ask what would be the consequences to human conduct and feeling if the naturalistic creed became the esoteric doctrine of a few philosophers, but what those consequences would be when mankind in general had adopted the creed, grasped fully its content, and become saturated with its essential teaching. One thing is certain: the thoughts, aspirations, and emotions which now minister to our moral life did not take root and flourish in an atmosphere of naturalism. And that they will languish and die when exposed to this uncongenial influence seems equally certain. For consider, under the now prevailing system we are taught that God is good, that He rules the world in righteousness, that the moral law is immutable and eternal, that in its governance man finds his most complete realization and his most perfect blessedness, that every human being has infinite worth, that he is called to infinite endeavor, and that he is absolutely free and responsible for his conduct. But under the naturalistic theory of morals all this is changed. Goodness is no longer enthroned in the heavens, interfusing its benignant authority throughout the immensity of celestial and terrestrial spaces and evoking responses of reverence in every spiritual being. It is debased into a mere earthy product. Conscience, according to naturalism, is nothing but an instinct developed from some stray variation or "sport," by natural selection on account of its utility to society,—because its prescriptions of self-sacrifice, helpfulness, and justice, though not always an advantage to the individual, have enabled the tribes which practised them to survive and perpetuate themselves in the universal struggle for existence. If naturalism be true, morality becomes a bare cata-

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logue of utilitarian precepts. Moral laws are for the community what the protective blotches on its back are to the beetle: an ingenious means of survival in the struggle for existence. They have no other meaning, function, or worth. Like pains, pleasures, instincts, appetites, disgusts, and superstitions, morality is merely one of the many complicated contrivances which "Nature, indifferent to our happiness, indifferent to our morals, but sedulous of our survival," has wrought "into the physical or into the social organism by the shaping forces of selection and elimination." The call of every human being to goodness is a summons to let nature trick him for the benefit of society. Nor is he free to answer the call or to forbear; for being a merely natural organism his doings are settled for him by heredity and environment. I suppose it is scarcely necessary to make explicit the inevitable conclusion, namely, that there is a painful incongruity between our moral beliefs, sentiments, and aspirations and this naturalistic theory of their origin and significance. If naturalism ever entrenches itself in the mind of man as an indubitable conviction, those feelings and opinions must be expelled. One or the other may find lodgment there; but if naturalism hold the field, moral sentiments and aspirations must disappear.

I have given one example of Mr. Balfour's discussion of the consequences of the naturalistic creed. A like antagonism to that between naturalism and ethics is discovered between naturalism and æsthetics and naturalism and reason. I have not space here to follow the author farther along these lines, and I proceed at once to the second aspect of beliefs—namely, their rationality. The particular question to which I must restrict the exposition is this: On what ground can naturalism vindicate itself before the bar of reason? Mr. Balfour puts a similar question to other theories, but there is the less need of an expanded treatment here, as he regards those other theories as mere undeveloped varieties of the full-blown naturalism, of which alone we now make the demand that it shall give a rational account of itself.

What then is the philosophic basis of the naturalistic theory of the world? This very question will seem absurd, or at least finical and impertinent, to many of the educated and to all the half-educated persons who read it. Is it not science, they will ask with some petulance, which, banishing superstitious and supernatural hypotheses, has put us in possession of that experimental knowledge which constitutes the naturalistic or empirical view of the universe? Now in

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spite of the cocksureness of this sort of persons there is nothing either perverse or profane in the attempt to examine critically, not only beliefs which are dubious, but also beliefs which we hold with the most perfect practical assurance. This is what Mr. Balfour resolutely sets himself to do in regard to the current scientific theory of the universe. He makes impartial inquisition into the foundations of the scheme. And his "obstinate questionings" bring out the fact that what we fondly call the scientific view of the world, that is to say the system of naturalism, is made up in large part of ungrounded assumptions. These presuppositions of our scientific system of belief have, up to this time, not even been enumerated, much less justified. But I may here mention two of them for the purpose of illustrating Mr. Balfour's argument. One is our belief in the independent existence of the material universe. According to the naturalistic scheme of things, this world is the be-all and the end-all of reality. Now on what evidence is the existence of this reality asserted? It will, of course, be said that we see it, and that seeing is believing. But such a naïf statement is rendered absurd by the discoveries which science itself has made. Physics, physiology, and psychology have demonstrated that the eye is percipient of colors only, and that if the retina were stimulated in some other way we should experience all our sensations of color, though the outer world had vanished quite away. Yet we assert the external world exists: *we believe it without evidence.* The same thing is true of another important constituent of the scientific scheme of things. I refer to the principle of the uniformity of nature or the law of universal causation. Whenever we reason to the occurrence of any event or events outside the circle of our own immediate perceptions, every step of the process involves the assumption that the course of nature is uniform. We can never, therefore, learn this principle from our sensible experience. We bring it to the interpretation of the world, and we believe it to be true even when facts—as often happens—seem to belie it. In short, the scientific or naturalistic theory of the universe rests ultimately on undemonstrated and indemonstrable assumptions. It has *no* philosophical basis; there are *no* reasons for belief in its fundamental principles. And what Mr. Balfour finds intolerable is that it should presume, "in despite of its speculative insufficiency, to dictate terms of surrender to every other system of belief."

Scientific beliefs then cannot be rationalized. And since, though they cannot be demonstrated, they must yet be accepted, the next in-

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quiry is into the causes which impress them upon us. This brings us to the third division of Mr. Balfour's investigation, which is perhaps the most original, striking, and suggestive part of a work that is throughout able and instructive. From one point of view, indeed, Mr. Balfour's solution of this problem might be said to be derived from Hume; for this great iconoclast also traced beliefs back to non-rational causes, of which the most important was custom. But Mr. Balfour's analysis of this subject is more exhaustive than Hume's; and the treatment reveals a wealth of original reflections and apt illustrations, while, it is almost needless to add, the use which is made of the conclusion is almost as far removed as anything can well be from that despair of reason, that "misology," which is the ear-mark, as it is the doom, of every sceptical philosophy. Mr. Balfour does not deny that assent to many propositions rests entirely on rational grounds. What he is concerned to assert, however, is that with many of our beliefs, probably the great majority of them, assent is produced by "custom, education, public opinion, the contagious convictions of countrymen, family, party, or church." This group of non-rational causes, moral, social, and educational, which produces its results by psychic processes other than reasoning, Mr. Balfour designates Authority. And the following passage shows how he adjudicates between the rival claims of authority and reason throughout the entire field of belief and practice:

"We must not forget that it is *Authority rather than Reason to which, in the main, we owe not religion only, but ethics and politics; that it is Authority which supplies us with essential elements in the premises of science; that it is Authority rather than Reason which lays deep the foundations of social life; that it is Authority rather than Reason which cements its superstructure.* And though it seems to savour of paradox, it is yet no exaggeration to say, that if we would find the quality in which we most notably excel the brute creation, we should look for it, not so much in our faculty of convincing and being convinced by the exercise of reasoning, as in our capacity for influencing and being influenced through the action of Authority."

Having thus dissected beliefs, having surveyed them from the point of view of their causes, their grounds, and their results, Mr. Balfour finally proceeds to the unification of beliefs into that ordered whole which we call philosophy. It is the merest outline—"suggestions toward a provisional philosophy," he modestly calls it. Yet here the interest in the book culminates. To this all else has been preparatory. For Mr. Balfour's object, as he tells us in his preface, "is to recommend a particular way of looking at the World-prob-

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lems." And if the statement of his philosophy, which is meant to be a vindication of religion, comes so late and is so brief, it is, as he says, because the decisive battles of theology are fought beyond its frontiers, because our views on the special problems of religion are commonly settled for us by our general mode of looking at the universe. This is why he has examined the naturalistic and cognate systems. And having, as we have seen, rejected them, it now remains to ask what he proposes to offer in their stead?

One thing Mr. Balfour will not be guilty of in constructing his philosophy. He will not discriminate against any particular class of beliefs. He knows that the platform on which ultimate scientific beliefs stand is not more solid than that which supports ultimate religious beliefs. And, in the second place, there is a positive principle by which Mr. Balfour will be judged. He will take account "not merely of premises and their conclusions but of needs and their satisfactions." With these norms, positive and negative, he cannot doubt the existence of God. Were it otherwise, however, were doubt defensible, he thinks that science would oblige us to postulate, as ground of its own possibility, the existence of a rational Being who made the world intelligible and us intelligent. And could we decline to postulate a moral God in the interests of morality? Nor is Mr. Balfour content with mere Theism. In a world under moral governance he deems there is a presumption in favor of facts or events which minister to our spiritual needs, and of all such by far the most important is Christianity. Never was the need for it greater than it is in this scientific age of the world when men are prone to lose sight of the Personal God in the infinities of space and time and the monotonies of physical causation. "The Incarnation throws the whole scheme of things, as we are too easily apt to represent it to ourselves, into a different and far truer proportion." Mr. Balfour (though he nowhere quotes poetry) might fairly express himself in Browning's words:

> "I say, the acknowledgment of God in Christ
> Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
> All questions in the earth and out of it,
> And has so far advanced thee to be wise."

Should any one at this point charge Mr. Balfour with mysticism, he would make a twofold reply. Admitting that the Incarnation and Atonement are mysteries, he would point out, in the first place, that any religious truths which are deep enough to satisfy our spirit-

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ual needs must of necessity be too large for comprehension by the intellect, and, in the second place, that we ought not to be surprised or embarrassed at the inexplicability of the supreme mystery of Christian faith when we cannot devise explanatory formulæ even for the familiar mysteries of our daily existence. Mr. Balfour's position is, indeed, anything rather than inflexible dogmatism. He recognizes that "any scheme of belief" which has even imperfectly met the needs of mankind cannot be "wholly false"; and he asserts that "to claim for any beliefs which we happen to approve that they are wholly true, is the height of absurdity." He shows also, in a very suggestive way, that religious beliefs, like other beliefs, are subject to change and development. As in science so also in religion, the explanatory formulæ of yesterday may be useless to-day, though the facts to be explained may be, wholly or partially, unchanged. Consequently the function of a creed established by a church is not merely to give systematic expression to religious doctrine. Its more valuable, and also its more constant, function is to furnish a basis of religious coöperation. It is nothing less than a disaster that this latter function of the creed is so generally overlooked.

Such, in the baldest outline, with the minor features altogether omitted, is the main thought of Mr. Balfour's book. I shall make only one or two observations upon it.

In the first place, it may be noted that Mr. Balfour's book marks the arrival of a new epoch in modern philosophy. The agnostic fever has burnt itself out.[1] Ever since the appearance of "The Origin of Species," religious thought has been terrified and paralyzed alike by the shadow of scepticism and the substance of science. But it has finally wrought its delivery from the house of bondage. Reflection has taught us that the new evolutionary hypothesis with all its legitimate consequences may be woven into the pattern of our ancient faiths, with some slight changes here and there, both in warp and woof, which make little material difference to the real character and appearance of the fabric. A new spirit accordingly animates contemporary writers on philosophy They see that, not only in religion, but in science and in practical life as well, man walks by faith and not by sight. Their attitude toward religious problems is entirely different from that of twenty years ago. Of this change there is perhaps no better illustration than the fact that the refutation of

[1] For further remarks on Agnosticism the writer refers to his article on the subject in the current (May) number of "The Philosophical Review."

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that sceptical work, "A Candid Examination of Theism," written by Romanes in 1874, will be found in "A Candid Examination of Religion," which the distinguished biologist himself composed shortly before his lamented death in 1894. The last generation, in opposing ranks, shouted for *either* science *or* theology, *either* naturalism *or* supernaturalism. Ours will accept both and on equal terms. "The Foundations of Belief" is a most significant and encouraging sign of the times.

Secondly, Mr. Balfour makes a positive contribution, of no little value, to modern apologetic theology. The author is himself too modest ever to name his own work in the same breath with Butler's "Analogy of Religion"; nor do I think that, in comparison with that immortal treatise, its merits can be described as other than relative and temporary. Nevertheless, I am strongly persuaded that Mr. Balfour has done a piece of helpful work for his own generation. And perhaps the main reason of his success will be found in his adherence to those traditions which Butler has stamped upon our apologetics. Like the great bishop, Mr. Balfour is cautious and judicial, deeply impressed with the mysteries of the world and the ignorance of man; and, like him, too, he aims rather to remove difficulties than to erect a system, to vindicate a loyal attitude toward objects of faith in general rather than to furnish the particular articles of a creed. And these results he endeavors also to bring about by means of analogical reasoning, the use of which in a systematic way Butler was the first to introduce. The title of Butler's work admirably describes Mr. Balfour's. The former is "The Analogy of Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature." Is not the latter an analogy of our religious belief to our beliefs about the constitution and course of nature? That we have had a larger experience both of nature and of religion since Butler wrote makes no difference to the method, though it doubtless enhances the difficulty of the task to be accomplished.

Thirdly, while Mr. Balfour's philosophical faith is substantially my own, I cannot help thinking that he has too freely impressed into his service the notions of "use" and "need." If beliefs which are useful must therefore be valid, and objects which we need must therefore exist, the human mind may indeed devise counsels of expediency, but it should not delude itself with the quest of truth and reality. Mr. Balfour complains of certain people who have fallen into the absurdity of supposing that God considers His creatures

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"with the eyes of a contractor or politician." But Mr. Balfour himself seems at times to regard, rather as a politician than as a thinker, our beliefs about God. And a conservative politician too! For because the beliefs have been useful he infers they must be valid! If reason plays no larger part than he assigns it in the establishment or maintenance of these beliefs, it is difficult to see how we can make any real distinction between the grossest superstitions and the noblest faiths. This defect in Mr. Balfour's system may be traced to his all too utilitarian interpretation of reason itself. Of course reason aided the animals possessing it to survive; so did eyes and teeth; so did sociability and conscience. But these are not mere utilities; besides being useful in the struggle for life, they are what they are,—the eye an organ of vision, conscience a sense of right, and reason a faculty of truth. Mr. Balfour has fallen into the curious fallacy, not uncommon among evolutionists, of ignoring the essence of reason and regarding it merely as some kind of useful instrument in the struggle for existence. Had he reflected more on its nature and less on its evolution, his religious philosophy would have been relieved of something of the utilitarianism with which it is rather unduly charged.

Yet I would close, not with criticism, but with an expression of gratitude. Mr. Balfour's work vindicates anew our faith in truth, beauty, and goodness, as well as in the Divine Being of whose character they yield us glimpses. Naturalism is fatal to such a creed and would, as Mr. Balfour impressively and pathetically demonstrates, inflict irremediable impoverishment upon the life of man. If there be nothing Divine within us or without us,

> "The pillared firmament is rottenness
> And earth's base built on stubble."

J. G. SCHURMAN.

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McMASTER'S "HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES."[1]

THE fourth volume of Professor McMaster's "History of the People of the United States" is welcome. Although the title-page still bears the caption "In six volumes," it is evident that upon the same generous scale four more like instalments will be necessary. The period from 1820 to 1860 is certainly no less full of interest, excitement, and graphic incident than the four decades from 1780 to 1820. Mr. McMaster is, therefore, at the half-way stone of his thirty years' labor.

In many respects the material for this volume is less picturesque than that of its predecessors; or else the newspapers in 1812 were less given to quotable squibs than in 1809. Nowhere are there such entertaining bits as in the public criticism of the "Dambargo" quoted in the third volume. The foot-notes are also notably fewer, as though the author had found less that was unusual in his favorite newspapers and reminiscences.

Though not the part which will be considered the most interesting when the work is finished, Volume IV. deals with a period full of striking paradoxes, for the War of 1812 falls almost wholly within its limits. That struggle, begun for conquest,—did not Clay promise "to negotiate the terms of peace at Quebec or Halifax"?—ended in the occupation of Maine, the loss of Oregon, and the holding by our enemies of Mobile. The first skirmishes on the northern frontier were scandalous and cowardly failures: the last fight at New Orleans was a victory which made the nation proud and raised the commanding general later to be President of the United States. At the beginning of the war the navy narrowly escaped being laid up in port to avoid capture by the enemy; yet the favorable terms of peace were due to the effect produced upon England by the prowess of the American navy and the ravages of our privateers. The final official cause for war was the impressment of American seamen; and the treaty of peace gave no guarantee on that subject. The war, begun

[1] "A History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War." John Bach McMaster. Appleton.

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by two sections and opposed by New England, led almost to the breaking up of the Union; but from it emerged a compact and powerful little nation.

It is not within the scope of Professor McMaster's work to analyze and expound these antitheses. His book moves straight forward from the beginning to the end with a simple narrative usually little swelled by rhetoric. He expects his readers to apply for themselves the material which he has with such conscientious labor accumulated. Throughout nearly the whole of this volume he is travelling over ground covered also by Pitkin, Hildreth, and especially by Henry Adams; and, except for throwing the whole material together in a convenient form, he has not added much to the commonplaces of the history of the period; for such questions as the war on the Niagara frontier, the naval warfare, the national finances, the bank, the tariff, the Treaty at Ghent, and the Missouri Compromise, rest where he found them. It has not entered into his plan to re-write such topics and to illustrate them by new discoveries.

The chief service of this volume, as of its predecessors, is not so much to traverse the conclusions of former writers, as to add a new kind of material on a neglected series of topics. No better illustration could be given than the account of the capture of Washington by the British. The story is not only told in a direct and limpid fashion, but the author carries the reader with Ross, from his landing on the Patuxent river, up through the country to Bladensburg.

"Never in the history of military movements has such a march been made. Had it been a pleasure excursion, the discomforts could not have been much less nor the enjoyment very much greater. The road along which the army moved at leisure was a good one, and wound through dense woods which sheltered the men from the rays of the August sun. Not an enemy molested them, nor was anything more annoying than a thunderstorm encountered along the route from Benedict to Nottingham."

No one has written a more memorable account of the destruction of the public buildings in Washington:

"Hardly was the camp formed when Ross and Cockburn, at the head of a detachment of troops, entered the city, made their way to the Capitol, fired a volley through the windows, entered, and gave the building to the flames. . . . As soon as the fire began to burn brightly, Ross and Cockburn, with two hundred men, marched quietly along Pennsylvania Avenue to the President's house, or, as the Federalists delighted to call it, the Palace. . . . When the troops had ransacked the rooms, the furniture was gathered in the parlor, and a live coal having been secured at a neighboring tavern, the building was soon wrapped in flames. . . . The behavior of Admiral Cockburn at the sacking of the newspaper office was long remembered. . . . As the soldiers were busy smashing

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presses and type, Cockburn became especially facetious, and shouted out, 'Be sure that all the C's are destroyed, so that the rascals cannot any longer abuse my name!'"

The shame and cowardice of this whole proceeding are summed up in two sentences:

"In Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, there were then living not far from one and a half million of whites. Yet this great population remained in its towns and cities, and suffered five thousand Englishmen to spend five weeks in its midst without once attempting to drive the invaders from the soil."

Yet the counterpart is also stated. It was the resistance of the fifteen hundred soldiers, and the little fleet of Macdonough at Plattsburg, which caused Wellington to give his professional opinion that the success of the British armies did not justify the British in demanding American territory. It is plain that the failure of all the American operations by land was due to the lack of military tradition and military leaders, just as the splendid successes at sea can be traced to the trained seamanship of Lawrence, Decatur, and Porter.

One of the most interesting and unique features in this volume is its account of the means of transportation. No previous writer, not even Henry Adams, has described the remarkable system of wagon transport which sprang up during the war. The account of the "ox-marine" sounds like a popular joke. During the first two years of the war, British commerce was allowed to go on with disaffected New England, while forbidden in the middle and southern ports. As the coasting trade was cut off by British cruisers, the wagon was the one method of transportation from north to south, although it required more than a hundred days to send a wagon from Boston to Savannah, and the expense, Professor McMaster tells us, was nearly a thousand dollars. With this traffic were connected many humors, both unconscious and conscious. Of the first sort was the interference with Sunday travel by the tithingmen of the Puritan Connecticut towns. Of the second sort was the mock log of the wheeled craft.

"Port of Salem. Arrived the three-horse-ship 'Dreadnaught,' Captain David Allen, sixteen days from New York. Spoke in the latitude of Weathersfield the 'Crispin,' Friend Alley master, from New York, bound homeward to Lynn, but detained and waiting trial for breach of the Sabbath."

One cannot help enjoying also the joke of the Yankee skipper of one of these wagons who told a custom-house officer that "he was loaded with dry-goods from Eastport," which he insisted were of American manufacture. When they broke open his box, they found his story true, for he was carrying dried herrings.

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As soon as the war was over, this expensive overland transit ceased; but the lesson was not lost, and from that time date new schemes for roads and canals and for the navigation of the internal rivers and lakes. Out of many records the writer has drawn a wearying wealth of instances of early steam ferries and steamboat lines.

"The New Jersey plied between Whitehill and Philadelphia, touching at Burlington and Bristol, and made her trips on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, because on those days the other boats did not run. By her the through fare from Philadelphia to New York was but three dollars and a quarter. This in time was increased somewhat by the necessity of passing the night at New Brunswick or South Amboy. Yet such was the persistence with which travellers held to the old way of travel that the proprietors of the stage which ran through in one day raised the fare to ten dollars and still had their vehicles always full."

The "team-boat," or ferry-boat propelled by horse power, actually ran for some time in competition with steam ferries. Then came the plans for canals, greatly stimulated by the beginning of the Erie Canal in 1817. In these days of mighty projects for piercing the Isthmus of Nicaragua it is interesting to note that Philadelphians soberly supposed that seventy-five miles of internal canal were all that were necessary "to give water communication between the Market Street Bridge over the Schuylkill river and the Pacific ocean at the mouth of the Columbia."

Another of the obscure subjects which Professor McMaster has enlightened is that of the State banks and their currency. In 1790 there were three State banks in the country; in 1811 there were eighty-eight; in 1813 there were two hundred and eight. As at the beginning of the Civil War, small change rapidly disappeared, and was replaced by "shinplasters" issued by cities, merchants and traders. Notes were issued by many corporations and individuals without a charter and often without existence. It was this intolerable practice which led to the creation of the second United States bank in 1816.

Perhaps the most valuable chapters of this volume are those given to westward emigration and to the prisons. We are just beginning to understand the powerful influence of the West in affecting the political development of the country. Six new States were admitted to the Union from 1816 to 1821, of which five, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Mississippi, and Missouri, had been almost a wilderness twenty years before. Here is an account of the travel just west of St. Louis, as recorded by an eye-witness:

"The whole appearance of the train—the cattle with their hundred bells; the negroes with delight in their countenances, for their labors were suspended

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and their imaginations excited; the wagons, often carrying two or three tons, so loaded that the mistress and children are strolling carelessly along at a gait which enables them to keep up with the slow travelling carriage,—carried me back to the pastoral pursuits of those ancient races whose home was in a tent wherever their flocks found range. Just about nightfall they come to a spring or branch where there are water and wood; the pack of dogs set up a cheerful barking; the cattle lie down to ruminate; the team is unharnessed; the huge wagons are covered so that the roof completely excludes the rain; the cooking utensils are brought out; the blacks prepare a supper which the toils of the day render delicious."

The effects of the dull times from 1814 to 1820 in stimulating the movement from State to State and from foreign countries to the United States, are carefully studied and clearly presented.

The student of the period must not fail to read the chapters on Pauperism and Crime, and on the American Bible and Colonization Societies. To the losses of property and of employment caused by the war were added the evils of gross intemperance and of ill-regulated charity. The system of investigation of cases of suffering which has in our day been concentrated in the Associated Charities appears to owe its origin to the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Economy, and to the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in the City of New York, both founded in 1817. The thanks both of historical students and humanitarians are due to the author for his study of imprisonment for debt and the prisons. It seems incredible that in 1816 seven hundred and twenty-nine persons were confined in the debtors' jail of New York City for debts of less than twenty-five dollars. On the other hand, the religious development of the country takes its proper place in the narrative, and we have an account of the journeys of Mills and others through the West to distribute Bibles.

Where so much is interesting and instructive, criticism seems ungracious; yet the book has one serious and continuous defect. The author produces his effect by mass, by enumerations, by an accumulation of particulars; the work lacks proportion and lacks relief. It is like one of those Roman tables made of many bits of marble, fitted carefully together and highly polished: the parts adjoin each other, but they are not related. We look in vain for the mosaic in which characters and scenes stand out from the surface. Professor McMaster is now entering on a decade which he has almost to himself, for no trained historian has passed over the period from 1820 to 1830 on the scale which he proposes. Will he not give us equal pleasure and a more distinct picture?

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

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INDICATIONS OF BUSINESS IMPROVEMENT.

It does not surprise us to find a feeling of hope as regards prices and profits prevailing in the spring of the year; for there is an Easter in stock-exchanges as well as in the churches; and emotion, which the poet tells us must touch morality to make religion, is no less necessary and no less effective in business matters too.

This is preliminary to the statement that the recent advance in prices upon the stock- and produce-exchanges, and the increase in the feeling of hope and the spread of the belief that the worst of our depression is over, are due in part to sentiment—using that word in its better sense. To say this is not to belittle the movement. On the contrary no business can succeed without sentiment, that is, without some faith in a happy outcome. This is really what we mean when we speak of Wall Street as "discounting the future"; and since the natural man is always a "bull," it is upon the side of higher prices that human impulses of this sort always range themselves. No sharp line can be drawn separating fact and sentiment; those two forces act and react upon each other, so that the true financial prophet must take account of both. It is therefore a favorable and happy thing that throughout the country men are turning their eyes more confidently to the future. A little more confidence put into everyday operations, on the part of many thousands of our citizens, would result in an increase of business whose aggregate would be large and whose influence toward recovery would be appreciable.

But we are not left with sentiment as the only cause for the advance in prices. Reports from bank presidents and from manufacturers and business men, at the East particularly, are to the same effect. Gradually more money from the banks is borrowed to resume operations or to increase the hours to full time; slowly factories which have been idle are beginning work; from time to time the newspapers print items wherein wages, cut down a year or so ago, are wholly or in part restored. In many cases these factories are starting up with little or no profit in immediate prospect, but the effect upon the general situation is even then undoubted. Travelling salesmen have

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for some time reported stocks in the hands of country dealers as low, so that the railways have a fairly good traffic in family supplies carried westward, these dealers buying as their shelves are emptied. Many large and important works in different parts of the United States, whose building has been decided upon, are waiting for the first coming of normal trade to be begun. The receipts of the national treasury more nearly balance the expenditure. So far as one can see, it would require but the push of additional prosperity to set the now slowly-moving wheels revolving at a more rapid rate.

We must not conclude from this brief review that full prosperity is all but upon us. It is fairer to say that the worst is over and that hereafter things may be expected to improve. The profitableness of agriculture is yet an unsettled factor in our problem. We do not know, and shall be able to judge only by the event, how far the present low prices for wheat and cotton afford a margin of profit for the cultivators. In any case much, very much, will depend upon the coming fall crops. If those are fairly good in all the different lines, there will be an accelerated trade movement in every direction. If the crops fail again we shall see a longer period of stagnation and distress.

One important industry must be mentioned which, as it happens, is lagging behind the others. The railways of the United States, for reasons which need not now be discussed, are running their trains at a margin of profit insufficient to maintain the property and support the capitalization. Until this matter is settled in some way we must expect continued dulness in those lines of trade largely dependent, directly and indirectly, upon the railways. The solution may come from the application of the pooling principle, or from the spending of large sums of money to reduce the grades so as to admit of more economical working, or from reorganizations, or from consolidations, or from a combination of these. Since next to agriculture the railways form our largest industry, questions concerning their profitableness and their future concern the whole country.

No statement of the situation would be complete which did not refer to the Morgan-Belmont syndicate. It is known among financial men that these gentlemen have practically guaranteed to turn the tide which was setting so strongly against the United States in February, and to hold it back, by force if necessary, until changed conditions shall render further efforts needless. No greater undertaking was ever made by private parties in the history of our national finance. To this syndicate we owe at this time the possibility of a better feel-

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ing, which must always precede better actual business. The London papers of standing had scarcely a favorable word to say of the "coin" bonds bought by the syndicate. The British weekly financial periodicals advised against their purchase; yet the instinct of the English investor was stronger than the reasoning of the editors. It was a triumph for those who believe in the real honesty of the American people, and especially was it a tribute to the power of two great financial houses to enlist public opinion in their support. As has been remarked, our treasury officers have responsibility without power. When the situation becomes acute, our Government is helpless to originate such a broad international policy as alone could bring about a world-wide remedy. If there is one lesson—aside from the losses incurred through the refusal to authorize a gold loan—which these recent events inculcate, it is that our gold reserve and our currency questions are banking problems at bottom, and can no more be set in rigid limits by law than can the volume of trade or the percentage of credit to be granted to the mercantile community.

To one accustomed to search out public opinion it is clear that there is a more hopeful feeling about our money problem also. The impression is growing among manufacturers, merchants, and capitalists that the United States will not depart from the gold standard; and this impression among the classes which inaugurate new enterprises is a factor in the situation. Upon just what lines the currency question will be settled, no one can foresee; but it is believed that that settlement will not set the prosperity of this country back into the trade conditions of silver-using countries like China and India, where commerce is yet in its swaddling clothes. The truth probably is that the sentiment which has existed in parts of the United States in favor of free silver coinage has had its real origin in protests against something in our currency or banking or commercial laws and conditions, which the honest silver advocates believed to work against their interests and which these citizens saw no other way of remedying. Any attempted settlement of our standard of value, which does not take this phase of the matter into account, will be futile.

It has long been an axiom in theology that no doctrine should be condemned unless there is a better to be put in its place: the same rule holds good in social science. The Southern or Western citizen, seeing but little money in his daily life, is led to believe that a larger quantity of the circulating medium would give him relief. It would be easy to show that the proposed cure would not help him; but

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something more than that is necessary if we are to have a "campaign of education" which shall really educate. That supposed citizen has confused two related and yet essentially different things. What he, his county, or his State needs, is not a greater issue of money *per capita*, but more capital; and capital in our day is dependent upon a standard of value rather than upon the volume of money; for capital does not consist of actual cash, but mainly of bank credits.

A significant table printed on page 12 of the Report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1894 seems to have escaped observation. That table states that the individual deposits in all our banking institutions (trust companies and savings banks included) amounted to the vast sum of $4,715,000,000—while at the same time the amount loaned out by those same banks was $4,125,000,000. Now the point lies in the fact that each of these totals is roughly three times larger than all the money then in circulation, of which money these same institutions held but a small portion, the greater part being in the pockets of the people. The credits of business men to each other which do not go through banks would swell the total of credits to an enormous sum. If our supposed citizen is demanding money enough to cancel all transactions by the passing of actual cash, he is asking for a physical impossibility. What the banks really do, in lending out a sum so much larger than all the circulating medium in the country, is to give the borrowers bank credits based on commercial assets and calculated on the recognized value of gold as the best standard for that purpose. It is not only the small amount of legal tenders which would be affected by a change in this standard, but the vast amounts of these credits also.

The next question for the citizen to ask himself is why capital—bank credit—is not more available in the case of his town or State. We here really approach the crucial point of the honest agitation for silver. It may be that in some sections of the United States banks are too much hampered by unnecessary laws to give the credits legitimately due to the neighboring merchants or farmers. Perhaps some plan for the universal issue of money by all banks—of course under carefully defined conditions—would meet the case. If, under such circumstances, the local bank would not lend, the citizen could no longer lay the blame upon the Treasury at Washington. Perhaps interest is so high as to check enterprise: the remedy is not to denounce "the sharks," but by fair laws and careful business methods to induce other "sharks" to compete for the privilege of lending

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under these favorable conditions, and so reduce the interest-rate by natural means. In short, the question to ask is whether the problem in the dissatisfied States is not one of capital and of profit rather than of the quantity of the circulating money: and, if so, how far can it be solved by better business methods, better laws, and perhaps better banking facilities?

The question of the standard of value is the one question which must be settled, and settled right, before full prosperity can again come to us. As to trade conditions we already see signs not so much of improvement as of the approach of improvement. We shall not always suffer from crop failures, or from our extended credits. Such difficulties as lie in the path of slow advancement are rather those of our own making, whose removal lies in our own hands.

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